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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY



Volume VI

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ON RESEARCHING

The dictionary tells me that "to search" is derived from the Latin word "circare" meaning "to go round in a circle"; and to re-search, I take it, is to go round and round in a circle.

Well, that is rather dull, and the philological mystic, writing a learned treatise on the inherent significance of words, might find in the word "re-search" an illustration of his theme; it does undoubtedly convey an atmosphere of dullness, of dull people dully interested in dull subjects. Now I do not wish for a moment to suggest that you are dull who are kind enough to listen to or read this paper; and I hope you will not find the paper dull, but I must admit that I have sometimes feared, and have known people who have complained that the whole Society is a very dull affair. It is necessary, as they say in the Annual Resolutions, to attach overmuch importance to superficial manifestations of dissatisfaction, the man who complains that Burma is becoming greyer every day would probably be the better for a grey powder, and it is quite possible that people who find us dull do so because they have lost their capacity for being interested. That is a very flattering supposition, I wish I could believe it. Of course it is up to us to maintain that it is true, but it is up to us still more to demonstrate its truth, and it can only be demonstrated in one way, by attracting and retaining the interest of all those who do possess a capacity for being interested. Otherwise we may find the attitude of self-sufficiency, excellent in moderation, carried so far that the Secretary, the sole remaining member, will have to address a circular to himself announcing the dissolution of the Society because the rest of Burma refuses to be interested in his proceedings. If "the fruits of our cerebral slickness" as the poet puts it, cease to attract the rest of Burma we shall do well to remember that it is the club bore who has the room or the table to himself, and then complains that it is a dull club.

But I do not think that self-sufficiency of this description is a weakness of our Society; we are more apt to accuse ourselves of being uninteresting than others of being uninterested. The opening sentence of the inaugural address delivered by U May Oung six years ago was an anticipatory apology, and on those occasions when we have taken stock of our position we have never rebuked the outside world for refusing to pick up our pearls but like the pearl cultivator we have tickled the oyster, so as to obtain larger and more lustrous pearls. I do not know how far there is any occasion for serious misgivings; under our present able Editor we continue to produce at fairly regular intervals substantial volumes of our Journal, and we also hold our regular meetings not very often but frequently enough to show that we are still alive; but I have gathered that there is an impression that we are slowly being asphyxiated in a dusty atmosphere. At a meeting presided over by Mr. Justice Hartnoll he took occasion to warn the Society against a waning of enthusiasm. He had the facts and figures before him, and, still more eloquent, a sparse attendance to set against the memory of

earlier crowded meetings. We also have facts and figures at our disposal and it must be admitted that although we are going round and round in a circle there are signs that the circle is continually growing smaller; *That* we may admit without undue pessimism; at present there are of course circumstances which must excuse if they do not justify a temporary diminution of interest, but the existence of these temporary causes affords us a convenient opportunity of examining whether the symptoms of debility represent an organic weakness, and how we may regain vitality.

While we are occupied with such tremendous happenings in Europe we can no longer interest ourselves so fully as before in the remote and insignificant accidents of life in Burma. We are very much in the position of a former Emperor of China when he was first shown a map of the world on Mercator's projection. He was indignant that China, the centre of his universe should be tucked away in a corner, and, before sanctioning its use in schools, he imposed on the missionary who showed it to him the condition that it should be drawn again with China well in the centre and all the other countries encircling it respectfully, like the sheaves in Joseph's dream. The missionary happened to be a man of science, and he changed the projection on which the distances were calculated so that the capital, Peking, or it may have been Nankin at that time, was proudly situated in the middle of the equator at latitude 0 longitude 0. We are in a similar predicament. We may draw our pay, and feed and sleep in Burma, but the war, no less compelling than the imperial throne, has transfigured the whole projection of our lives, we still exist in Burma but we lived in Europe and derive our sustenance from Reuter's summaries.

I am not sure however that the war in Europe affords any valid justification for a diminution of our interest in Burma. If our Society really is a superfluity and a luxury I should be the first to advocate its suppression in the interests of economy; I would neither subscribe, nor collect subscriptions, nor waste time in writing or reading papers. If we are nothing more than dry-as-dusts and pedants digging among dead ashes I would shut down the whole unprofitable industry until the conclusion of the war. I do not wish to minimise the importance of settling *hoti's* business and laying the foundations of enclitic *de* but there are so many matters of more vital and immediate interest that I would even be content if we altogether stopped going round and round our circle, and allowed our accumulated "*kan*" to stay quiescent, enjoying as it were a premature *nibbana* until the surplus energy of Burma had once more accumulated in such quantities that the excess could safely be diverted along the unlovely and unfruitful channels of pansophistical research.

But before we consent to be thus quietly shelved I think that we shall require to be convinced that we really are superfluous; if we, as a Society, are to be put on trial for our life, and are set to plead against the charge that our corporate existence is a vanity I think that we can put up a case; we can ask for more than a verdict of Not Proven; from that Burma in whose name we go round and round our treadmill turning out notes on matriarchal vestiges and mediaeval history we can ask, and confidently expect, a triumphant acquittal. It is all a question of perspective, it depends upon the way you look at us. There are some people perhaps who do not know the story of Queen

Victoria's conversion to Buddhism. She had been reading some of the Buddhist Chronicles brought by a Burman embassy, and was greatly struck by the moral beauty of the contents. But she boggled at some of the legends, she could not believe that the Buddha could at the same time be 18 cubits high, and yet so small that he could hide in a baby's eyebrow. It wasn't sense. So she sent Sir Arthur Phayre on a mission to Mandalay to ascertain the truth. Mindon Min was learned as monarchs go but on a question of such importance he thought it advisable to obtain the assistance of the most erudite monks to explain the matter. They hummed and hawed and talked Pali, which Sir Arthur did not understand; and it looked as if Queen Victoria would remain among the unenlightened. At length one of the junior monks obtained permission to ask some questions. He pointed to Mandalay Hill and asked Sir Arthur Phayre the height.

"About 2,000 cubits I should guess," was the reply.

"Now look at it through that spy-glass in your hand. Do you see the whole of it?" he asked.

Sir Arthur Phayre admitted that he did.

"Well then," queried the monk, triumphant, "how can so large a hill go into a small tube no wider than a couple of thumbs' breadth?"

The ambassador was stumped and the answer which he sent back to England solved all the Queen's difficulties.

In both cases it was a question of perspective, and people who see in our Society nothing more than the conundrums in our Journal are similarly troubled by an error of perspective. It was not merely for the pleasure of putting and answering these conundrums that so many hastened to enroll themselves when the foundation of our Society was first mooted. You may remember that at our first general meeting, despite the comparatively small population of the Province, and the insignificant number of people literate in English our Secretary reported that with hardly an exception no Society in the East had started with so large a roll of members. What was it really that we were all looking for? Were we really so keen on putting together dead bones, and hunting for ghosts without the midnight excitement of the grave yard. In a manner, and in a certain degree, and as regards most of us, yes. But that was not our driving motive. In one sense we were ghost hunting, we were looking for something as elusive and impalpable as ghosts, as far removed from all material ends, for something which we believe in on the evidence of things unseen, and which unbelievers would scornfully declare had no more reality than ghosts. In a word we were looking for Burma. That was really the common interest which for a moment brought us all together on common ground. Some of us were interested in history, some in philology, some in anthropology, and some may not have been greatly interested in any of these subjects. But we were all of us interested in Burma; that was the real object of our research; we instinctively perceived the need for providing a standing ground on which all with this common interest could meet, and we hoped that our Society would focus and, like a burning glass, intensify those non-material re-actions resulting from the connection between Burma and the recent phase of European civilisation which otherwise were so feeble as to escape observation.

But this talk of looking for Burma and focussing non-material re-actions leads so readily to undisciplined sentiment that we must consider for a moment what it means and whether we are talking sense. What is this Burma that we are looking for and why should we who either live or spend so large a portion of our lives in Burma have any need to look for it? Now, there is a Burma that we can read of in a hundred books and articles and letters to the Press from *Civis* and *Pro Bono Publico*; the Burma that wants more capital, more roads and railways and more labour, the Burma that exports so much rice and teak and cotton. That fat and prosperous abstraction with its illimitable appetite there is no need to look for; it may be found wherever there are people who wish to borrow at a lower rate, pay less money for their goods and hire their labourers more cheaply; in fact it may be found everywhere. Nor are we looking for the Burma of the sentimental book-maker where a population of Sandford and Mertons go to school in the dress and atmosphere of musical comedy. Nor are we looking for the Burma of the Buddhist.

It is quite easy to say what we are not looking for but it is not so easy to define the object of our search, perhaps that is one of the reasons why research is necessary. We may find help in doing so if we remember that we are only one of many societies started a few years ago for ends apparently unnecessary and certainly unprofitable as they reckon profit in the market place. All these societies had one common feature, they were corporate endeavours to re-construct old barriers, or build up new barriers, against forces which were felt to threaten corporate existence. I do not know how far this statement is too obvious to call for illustration, but perhaps a few examples may not be superfluous. In England, where these forces were a native product and therefore more susceptible of control by the opposing forces of tradition, they had been working longest; societies for the preservation of foot-paths were making a last stand against the decay of local life, and the same forces striking at the family had produced for our scandal and amusement a luxuriant crop of suffragette and anti-suffragette societies; people were writing books on the great State and the Great Society, and even formal economists were turning their belated attention to the organisation of consumption. In Burma the same forces had been at work, not for so long, but on the other hand unrestrained by the same opposing influence; the decay of village life had formed the repeated burden of annual reports, and the census figures for the last thirty years show their effect upon the family. I mention these points only by way of illustration, the facts themselves lie quite outside the field of vision of our Society, and the provision of remedies is quite beyond our scope. Indirectly, perhaps, so far as we can inspire, foster and diffuse sentiments adverse to the free action of individual material interests, our existence may not be wholly without effect even upon conditions so remote from our immediate activities; directly, they are no concern of ours. But we perceived the same forces acting upon many aspects of the life of Burma as a whole; in the operations of material interest, the exploitation of the natural resources of the country, the whole population of whatever calling and whatever nationality was whole hearted and at one, but in the exploitation of its human resources, in the domain of the humanities of learning, literature and art, we saw division, uncertainty and feebleness. That I think gives the key to what we were

looking for. We were not looking for the fat and properous Burma of the merchant, nor the imaginary Burma of the writer of sentimental books, nor the unsubstantial Burma of the monk, we were looking for human Burma; that mysterious entity of which each individual Burman, and in a less degree every one living here, is on an infinitesimal scale a manifestation and a representative, which is a norm subsuming all their individual activities, and which represents all that is vital and enduring in this country as we know it; the partnership, as Burke puts it, between the dead, the living and those yet to be born. If you will come thus far with me and admit this as the object of our research I think you will admit that the war may be an excuse but is no justification for a slackening of our energies. Rather it affords a reason why we should redouble them.

There are of course reasons other than and quite unconnected with the war for a temporary diminution of our interest in this Society. We have reached a critical stage in our career, the first wave of our enthusiasm is exhausted; we are no longer an adventure and not yet an institution. It is a stage at which complaints of dullness are very likely to crop up. Those who joined the Society with the feeling, conscious or unconscious, that they were going to rediscover Burma may complain that we have only a dug up heap of rubble. Now I do not admit that the complaint is just. Of necessity our Journal must for the most part consist of matter for the specialist, but I can not recall a single issue without at least one article which a reader with the most general and superficial interest in Burma should find worth reading. It is true that they have been outnumbered by the special articles, but that I think is as it should be; we must have a preponderance of special articles. Not only are these of value in justifying our existence to people outside Burma, but they are of direct and immediate value to ourselves and our main purpose, the discovery of Burma. For the Burma that we hope to assist in building is like some old pagoda recently unearthed and in course of restoration. Much of this restoration is and perforce must be dull work. I remember visiting the Petleik pagoda at Pagan when the excavation was in progress, and seeing a workman with one sweep of his brush remove the earth and plaster from a plaque that had been buried and forgotten for some centuries. But before he could do this it had been necessary to clear away cartloads of rubbish. We have carefully to set in order the foundations and the whole building brick by brick, but I for one firmly believe that if the Burma of the future is to be a lasting fabric, it must be built up on the old foundations. Every paper in our Journal cannot be a keystone nor an ornamental plaque, so long as it is honest workmanship it may be dull, so is the making of munitions and sitting in the trenches with cold feet, but it is necessary, and no one who retains a proper perspective, and views it in relation to our whole purpose will complain that it is dull.

Then there is another reason for a temporary diminution of our interest. While we are all interested in Burma as a whole we are all specially interested in special subjects. Some may value the philological articles, others will prefer folk-lore, others would wish to see more space allotted to Burmese verse and literature. The remedy I may remark is obvious, the columns of

the Journal are open to all members, and I am sure that the Editor will welcome contributions from people who feel that their own subjects are not receiving adequate attention. But that is by the way. I wish to point out that this diversity of interests is one factor of weakness. Probably when the Society first started we all hoped that our own subjects would receive more attention than they have, and the result has diminished our enthusiasm. Here again there is an error of perspective. For however much we may have neglected studies legitimately within our scope they have certainly received as much attention as before. It was because there were so few opportunities for the representation of so many sides of Burma that our Society was founded. For lack of encouragement and opportunity many budding interests were stifled; the time and effort which we can devote to matters bearing so remotely on our personal prospects and advancement must be small. Those who had some slight interest in the literature of Burma, in its art or learning, had no opportunities of intercourse with others of like interest, but everyone was greatly interested in getting on and making money. It was the old story of the village grazing ground. Nga Pyu would like to see the whole grazing ground reserved for the whole village, so would Nga Ni, Nga Kyaung, Nga Kya, but each of them has a much greater interest in snaffling a few acres for himself, and before long the whole grazing ground has disappeared. The Society can not make people interested, but it can provide opportunities for the growth of interest. It has provided a seed bed, it is for the members to sow the seeds. The diversity of our interest rightly considered therefore is no ground for a weakening of our corporate existence but rather its justification.

But there is I think one direction in which the Society has not done all it could. If you are looking for something the best way to find it is to go round and round in a circle; so long, that is, as you are sure that you have drawn your circle wide enough. Now I am not quite sure that we have done this. In the few thoughtful words of encouragement uttered by our first patron, Sir Herbert White, at our inaugural meeting he made some suggestions of which we have not yet taken full advantage. He directed our particular attention to the recruitment of young Europeans coming out to Burma for the first time, and I would add that we should also endeavour to obtain the assistance of young Burmans returning to this country after studying in Europe. I do not know what proportion of those coming out to this country since we first started has joined the society, but I am under the impression that it is not large, and it would seem that there is room for organised endeavour to increase the number. Sir Herbert also suggested that the Society would become popular amongst scholars of the Burmese race if it were known and understood. We have a large proportion of Burmese members, and some of them have contributed papers to our journal, but these for the most part are men who have been to England. If we are successfully to graft the new on to the old we must have the assistance of representatives of the older school. We must recognize at once that we can not expect many members among them, the subscription, moderate as it is, would be prohibitive. But I think that we might do something to encourage local art and learning; I should like to see the Society offer a prize for something useless at the Arts and Crafts

Exhibition and similarly encourage Burman workers in history, philosophy and literature, who are turning out works year by year that carry on the old tradition, and in the department of literature I would draw special attention to a new art form deserving of encouragement, the novels that have been appearing during the last ten years. Then I would suggest that by similar means we might get into touch with the school boys of the higher classes, at least in the important Anglo-vernacular schools. These are all methods by which we might increase the radius of our circle.

There is yet another way in which we might improve our position, at least as regards financial stability and membership; it would however involve the consent and cooperation of Government. I am no great believer in the interference of Government in those matters which are our most immediate concern; I doubt if it can do much good and fear that it may do harm. I remember vividly reading in an annual report; "Of all the artists working under the supervision of the Art Department Maung So-and-so is the best; he trains apprentice pupils, charges fixed rates and executes all orders in rotation." I know that matters have changed since then and a paper by the member of our Society who is at present Provincial Art Officer giving an account of his work would be of interest. I do not wish to suggest that Government should give a reward for the brainiest paper in our journal nor even that we ask for a grant to our Society; at present there would be little chance of getting it. But if you look through the Civil List you will find that there are fellows of the Numismatic Society, of the Society of Literature, of the Linnaean Society, of the Imperial Institute, the Victoria Institute and many other similar foundations. But you may look through the whole green book without finding that any one is a member of our Society. That seems to me wrong. Apart from the advertisement which we should obtain from the insertion of the appropriate letters after the names of members, and the increased revenue which we should derive merely from advertisement, the assurance of government approbation, and the natural desire of many whose names appear there to signify that their interest in Burma is not measured by their pay would doubtless beneficially affect our members. I would suggest therefore that the Secretary be directed to approach Government with a request that the names of members of the Society be distinguished in the Civil List by the recognized abbreviation.

I hope I have not been too lengthy, but at the present time when there are so many claims upon our pockets and so many events likely to divert our attention from the objects of our Society, I have thought it a matter of some importance to justify our continued existence and to show that we serve a useful purpose which, under the present circumstances, justifies and even demands a renewal of our activity in running round and round our little wheel. I hope that I have made out a case.

J. S. FURNIVALL.

LET-WÈ-THONDARA.

JUDGE AND POET.

[The following is a biographical sketch of the renowned judge and poet, U Myat Tsan, who flourished during the first seven reigns of the Alompra dynasty and died at a ripe old age just before the first Burmese War. Originally a writer to the Royal Council of the last King of Old Ava (before the Talaing conquest 1751), he was given a similar post by Alompra with the title of Let-wè-thondara, and except for two short breaks, continued to serve with great distinction under him and his successors, eventually attaining to a judgeship of the Supreme Court. The versified Vinicchaya Pakāsani Dhammathat was written by him in 1777. U Myat Tsan is also included among Burma's greatest poets, having written several *pyo* and *mawgûn*, one of the latter being an ode on the conquest of Arakan. But the work by which he is best known at the present day is the composition of two *Yadu*, (reproduced in this article), the three-versed sonnet which is considered by many to be the most exquisite form of Burmese poesy. These were written while he was in exile at Mèza for the offence of *lèse majesté*, and won the royal appreciation to such an extent that the writer was recalled and restored to favour.

Saya Thein has not been able to secure particulars of the birth and ancestry of Let-wè-thondara, except the fact that he was a native of the village of Magyidon, near Shwebo. We have, however, a list of some of his immediate descendants. His two sons and two of his grandsons rose to judicial office, and a great-grandson, U Pe Si, a Myo-wun, *temp.* King Mindon, was among the first to be honoured with the C. I. E. by the British Government.—M. O.]

မင်းလက်ဝဲသုန္ဒရအမတ်ကြီးအကြောင်း။

ဤမြို့မြောက်လက် မန်ကျည်းတုံးရွာ-ရွာရာဇာတိ။ ငယ်မည်-မောင်မြတ်စံခေါ်သည်။ ရတနာပူရအဝမြို့။ လောကသရဉာဏ်ရာဇာဗိယကာ၊ ဟံသာဝတီပါမင်းလက်ထက်။ ထွတ်စိုးစာရေး-စာရှိလုပ်၍။ ရေးမှတ်ထမ်းရွက်ရသူသည်။

နောက်ရတနာသိင်္ဃီမြို့တည်း။ အလောင်းမင်းတရားကြီးလက်ထက်။ အမိန့်တော်ရေး။ အမှတ်တော်ရေးအဖြစ်နှင့် အမှုတော်ကိုထမ်းရသည့်အပြင်။ လက်ဝဲသုန္ဒရအမတ်ကြီးမြို့ပေးသနားတော်မူသည်ကိုခံရသည်။

နောက်သက္ကရာဇ်-၁၁၂၂ ခုနှစ်နန်းတက်တော်မူသော။ အလောင်းမင်းတရားကြီး သားတော်။ ဇေယျာပူရမြို့တည်းမင်းတရားလက်ထက်။ လက်ဝဲသုန္ဒရအမတ်ကြီး။ အမိန့်တော်ရေး။ အမှတ်တော်ရေးရာထူးရင်းအထိုင်းအမှုတော်ကိုထမ်းရွက်ရသည်။

နောက်သက္ကရာဇ်-၁၁၂၅ ခုနှစ်နန်းတက်တော်မူသော။ ဇေယျာပူရမြို့တည်းမင်းတရားကြီး၏။ ညီတော်။ တတိယအဝမြို့တည်း။ ဆင်ဖြူရှင်မင်းတရားလက်ထက်။ ၎င်းမင်းတရား၏။ ညီတော်။ အမြင့်မင်းသားအိမ်တော်တွင်။ အကြီးတော်အဖြစ်နှင့်သူကောင်းပြုတော်မူသည်။

အမြင့်မင်းသားအိမ်တော်တွင် အကြီးတော်အဖြစ်နှင့်ထမ်းရွက်ဆဲးအခါ။ အမြင့်မင်းသား၏လူမျိုးတော်၊ ငထင်ကျော်ဆိုသူသည်။ နန်းတော် အနောက် တံခါးပြင်တက်တွင်။ အမျိုးတော်တယောက်နဲ့။ ချေးခံချစ်ကြိုက်စကားပြောဆိုနေသည်ကို။ အနောက်ဝန်။ အနောက်စာရေးထိုးဖမ်းဆီးကြရာ။ စားနဲ့ထိုးမည်အဟန့်ပြု၍။ လက်ထွက်ထွက်ပြေးလေသည်။

အမျိုးတော်ကိုဖမ်းဆီးမိလျှင်။ ဤနားတော်ကြားတော်မူရာ။ ဆင်ဖြူရှင်မင်းတရားကြီး ကိုယ်တော်တိုင်။ စစ်မေးတော်မူသည်တွင်။ အမြင့်မင်းသားလူ။ ငထင်ကျော်ဆိုသူက။ မိုးယူကြည်းဆောင်ပါမည်ထွက်ခဲ့ပါဟု။ မှာထားသောကြောင့်။ ထွက်လာရပါကြောင်းကိုအစစ်ခံလေသည်။

ငထင်ကျော်ကို။ အမြင့်မင်းသားမှာတောင်းဆိုရာ။ မပေးမအပ်။ မထိယောင်ပြုနေသည်နှင့်။ အကြီးတော်ငြိတ်စံ-မှာတောင်းဆို ရာ။ မပေးမအပ်နိုင်ကြောင်းလျှောက်ထား၍။ ဆင်ဖြူရှင်မင်းတရားကြီးသည်။ အလွန်မှတော်မူသဖြင့်။ ဟဲ့-ငြိတ်စံကိုအဆုံးစီရင်စေဟုမိန့်တော်မူချက်အရ။ အာဏာသားတို့က။ သူ့သတ်သက်သို့အပ်မည်ရှိရာ။ တဖန်မင်းတရားကြီးက။ ဟဲ့-ငြိတ်စံကို။ ထောင်တွင်အကျဉ်းထားစေဟုမိန့်တော်မူပြန်သည်။ ထောင်မှူးတို့က။ ငြိတ်စံကိုချုပ်နှောင်၍။ ထောင်သို့ယူလွှားမည်ပူသောအခါ။ တဖန်မင်းတရားကြီးက။ ဟဲ့-သင်းကိုထောင်သို့မချလေနှင့်။ ဗျာနဲ့လိပ်၍။ မှက်နှာကို။ ပရဲထိုးစေမိန့်တော်မူပြန်သည်။ ထောင်မှူးအာဏာသားတို့က။ ပရဲထိုးရန်-ငြိတ်စံကိုဗျာနဲ့လိပ်၍။ ပရဲထိုးမည်ပူသောအခါ။ မင်းတရားကြီးက။ ဟဲ့-သင်းကိုပရဲထိုးနဲ့။ အထက်မြစ်ညာ-မဲဇာသစ်တောကိုပို့စေမိန့်တော်မူပြီးလျှင်။ မှက်နှာထွေးတော်မူလေသည်။

အမိန့်တော်ငြိတ်အရ။ မဲဇာသစ်တောသို့။ လှေနှုတ်ပို့ရာ။ မဲဇာသစ်တောကိုကျရောက်၍။ ၂-ရက်ကြာလျှင်။ ရတနာသိင်္ဃီမြို့တော်ကို။ တန်းတမြင်နေရကြောင်းဖွဲ့သော။

- ၁-မဲဇာတောင်မြေ။
- ၂-သဲသောသောင်မြေ။
- ၃-ပွဲခါညောင်ရေ။

အစဉ်သော။ ရတုပိုဒ်စုံ-၃-ပုဒ်။

မယားထိုးသားကိုလွှမ်းမတ်ကြောင်းဖွဲ့သော။

- ၁-ဝေ ရှမ်းစန္ဒာ။
- ၂-နေဝန်းတန်ဝါ။
- ၃-နွေကျွန်းသန်ကာ။

အစဉ်သော။ ရတုပိုဒ်စုံ-၃-ပုဒ်။

၎င်းရတု-၆-ပုဒ်ကိုရေးသားပြီးလျှင်။ မဲဇာသစ်တောကလူငယ်စေလွှတ်။ နေပြည်တော်ရှိ။ ဆင်ဖြူရှင်မင်းတရားကြီးသားတော်ချစ်စဉ်ကူးမင်းသားလက်တော်ရောက်ဆက်သရန်-အမှာစာနှင့်မိမိမယားထံသို့ပို့လိုက် ရာ။ မယားက-စဉ်ကူးမင်းသားထံမပို့ပဲ။ ဆင်ဖြူရှင်မင်းတရားကြီး၏အသွင်နန်းမတော်ဘုရားရှာလက်တော်သို့ဆက်သလေသည်။

၎င်းရတုပိုဒ်စုံများကို။ နန်းမတော်ဘုရားဖတ်ရှုတော်မူစဉ်အတွင်း။ ဆင်ဖြူရှင်မင်းတရားကြီးအတွင်းတော်မှထွက်တော်မူလာ၍။ မည်သည့်စာလဲဟု မေးတော်မူရာ။ နန်းမတော်ဘုရားက။ ၎င်းရတုဟွာကိုမင်းတရားကြီးရှာလက်တော်ရောက် ဆက်သသည်တွင်။ မင်းတရားကြီးကြည့်ရှုတော်မူရာ။ အလွန်နှစ်သက်-သနားတော်မူသဖြင့်။ ငြိတ်စံကိုပြန်ပေါ်စေမိန့်တော်မူချက်အရ။ ပြန်၍။ ပေါ်ရသည်။

ငြိတ်စံသည်။ မဲဇာသစ်တောသို့ပို့စေစေမိန့်တော်မူတ်သည်ကကို။ နေပြည်တော်သို့ပြန်ရောက်သည်တိုင်အောင်။ ရက်ပေါင်း-၄၉-ရက်ကြာကြောင်းကို။ ၎င်းအမတ်ကြီးမြေးတရားမ-တရားသူကြီးဦးတွန့်ပြောချက်ဖြစ်သည်။

နေပြည်တော်သို့ရောက်သည့်အခါ။ဆင်ဖြူရှင်မင်းတရားကြီးက။ လက်ဝဲသုန္ဒရ-ဆွဲအပြင်။ ယယရုဏ်မိတ်ဆွဲကိုထပ်မံချီးမြှောက်တော်မူပြီးလျှင်။တရားသူကြီးခန့်တော်မူသည်။

နောက်-သက္ကရာဇ်။ ၁၁၃၈-ခုနှစ် နန်းတက်တော်မူသော။ ဆင်ဖြူရှင် မင်းတရားကြီး သားတော်။ စဉ့်ကူးမင်းလက်ထက်။ယခင်ရပြီးဆွဲတံဆိပ်-၂-ခုကံအပြင်။ သရေသမီယာ-ဆွဲတံဆိပ်ကို ထပ်မံချီးမြှောက်ပြီးလျှင်။တရားသူကြီးခန့်ထားတော်မူသည်။

နောက်-သက္ကရာဇ်-၁၁၄၃-ခုနှစ်နန်းတက်တော်မူသော။ အလောင်းမင်းတရားကြီး သားတော်။ အမရပူရပဌမမြို့တည်-ထိုးတော်မင်းတရားကြီး လက်ထက်။ လက်ဝဲသုန္ဒရ-အမတ်သည်။ ၎င်းထိုးတော်မင်းတရားကြီးညီတော်။ ပင်းတလဲမင်းသားအိမ်တော်တွင်။ အကြီးတော်အဖြစ်နှင့် အမှုတော်ကိုထမ်းရွက်နေရသည်။ နောက်ပင်းတလဲမင်းသားရာဇဝတ်သင့်လျှင်။ ကိုးကွယ်ရာမဲ့၍။စကိုင်းတက်သို့ကူးပြီးလျှင်။ရဟန်းပြု၍။နေရသည်။

နောက်ထိုးတော်မင်းတရားကြီး သိတော်မူ၍။ ခေါ်တော်မူပြီးလျှင်။ ယခင်ရပြီးဆွဲတံဆိပ် ၃-ခုကံအပြင်။ လက်ဝဲသီဟသူဆွဲတံဆိပ်ကို ချီးမြှောက်တော်မူ၍။ တရားသူကြီးခန့်ထားတော်မူသည်။

နောက်-သက္ကရာဇ်-၁၁၈၁-ခုနှစ်နန်းတက်တော်မူသော။မဟာဝိဇယရံသီစေတီတော်ဒါယကာ။ထိုးတော်မင်းတရားမြေးတော်။စတုတ္ထအဝမြို့တည်မင်းတရားလက်ထက်။ လက်ဝဲနော်ရထာ။ မဟာသီဟသူရ။ တံဆိပ်-၂-ဆင့်ချီးမြှင့်တော်မူ၍။ တရားသူကြီး ခန့်ထား သူကောင်း ပြုတော်မူသည်။

၎င်းအမတ်ကြီးသည်။ မင်းအဆက်ဆက်။ ချီးမြှင့်သောဆွဲတံဆိပ်-၅-ခုကံတို့သည် မထင်ယွားချေ။လက်ဝဲသုန္ဒရ-အမတ်ကြီးဟူ၍။သာထင်ပေါ်ကျော်စောခြင်းဖြစ်လေသည်။ထိုအမတ်ကြီးသည်။ထိုးတော်မင်းတရားကြီး။ခြင်္သေ့ကြီး။ခေါင်းလောင်းကြီး။ဘုရားကြီးတည်ရာ။မင်းကွန်းတက်တွင်။တကြီးတော်လက်ထက်မှာပင်ကံကုန်လေသည်။

ယင်းသည့်အမတ်ကြီးပီရင်ခွဲသောကျမ်းများကား။

- ၁—အာဒါသမုခေါ်သစ်။
- ၂—သေနဂါဗျူဟာမျိုး။
- ၃—သောဏမျိုး။
- ၄—သာမိနုမျိုး။
- ၅—စကြာမင်းမျိုး။
- ၆—နန္ဒိယောနုမျိုး။
- ၇—ဗျူဟာစက္ကမျိုး။
- ၈—ဝိနိစ္ဆယဗျူဟာသတ်လင်္ကာ။
- ၉—ရတနာပူရအင်းဝရွှေပြည်ကြီးလာမော်ကွန်း။
- ၁၀—ပြည်တော်ဝင်မော်ကွန်း။
- ၁၁—မဟာဝိဇယရံသီစည်းခုံတော်မော်ကွန်း။
- ၁၂—မင်းကွန်းစေတီတော်တည်မော်ကွန်း။
- ၁၃— { အမရပူရ ပဌမမြို့တည် မင်းတရားကြီး မုဒ္ဒါထိသိက်
 { မော်ကွန်း။
- ၁၄—ညောင်တီနိုင်မော်ကွန်း။
- ၁၅—ညောင်တီသီသာသနာပြုစေသည့်မော်ကွန်း။

မျိုးပေါင်း-၇။လင်္ကာ-၁။မော်ကွန်းပေါင်း-၇။စုစုပေါင်း-၁၅-စောင်ရှိသည်။

၎င်းအမတ်ကြီးမယားမရွေးခေါ်သည်။ ပွေးဖွားသော
သားမြေးတို့ကား။

၁—သားကြီး-ဦးအေး။

၂—သားလတ်-ဦးရွှေသား။

၃—သွီးငယ်-မလွန်းမယ်။

၁—ဦးအေးက—၁—သားကြီး-ဦးကျောက်ခဲ။ } ခွေးပါသည်။
၂—သွီး-မနိုင်။

၂—ဦးရွှေသားက—၁—သားကြီး-ဦးတွန်း။ } ခွေးပါသည်။
၂—သားငယ်-ဦးညွန့်။

၃—မလွန်းမယ်က—သားသွီး-မသိပါ။

ဦးအေးသွီး၊ မနိုင်က၊ ဦးပေစိကိုခွေးပါသည်။ ၎င်းဦးပေစိသည်။ ရတနာပုံမြို့
တည်။ ပဉ္စမသင်္ဂါယနာတင်မင်းတရားကြီးလက်ထက်။ မြို့ဝန်ရာထူးဖြင့်သူကောင်း
ပြုတော်မူပါသည်။

ဦးအေး၊ ဦးရွှေသားတို့သည်။ တကြီးတော်ဘုရားလက်ထက်တော်တွင်။ တရား
သူကြီးရာထူးဖြင့်သူကောင်းပြုသည်ကိုခံကြရပါသည်။

ဦးအေး-သား၊ ဦးကျောက်ခဲမှား၊ ဇာတ်တော်ကြီးဆရာဖြစ်ပါသည်။

ဦးရွှေသား-သား၊ ဦးတွန်း၊ ဦးညွန့်တို့မှား၊ ကုန်းတောင်ဘုရင်လက်ထက်၊ ပုဂံရွှေ
နန်းရှင်လက်ထက်တွင်။ တရားသူကြီး ရာထူးဖြင့်။ သူကောင်းပြုသည်ကို ခံကြရပါ
သည်။

ဦးအေး၊ ဦးရွှေသား-တို့သည်။ ကဗျာသီချင်းများကို ထေ့လာ-သီဆိုတတ်ကြပါ
သည်။

ဦးကျောက်ခဲမှား၊ ဇာတ်တော်ကြီးဆရာအဖြစ်နှင့်။ ဇာတ်လမ်း၊ ဇာတ်ခန်းများ
ကိုတည်ထွင်နိုင်သည့်အပြင်၊ ပတ်လျှိုးသီချင်းခန့်ကြီးများကိုသီဆိုနိုင်ပါသည်။

ဦးတွန်း-ဦးညွန့်တို့မှား၊ လေးမျိုးကြီးသဖြင့်၊ သောကဗျာသီချင်းများကို ထေ့လာ
သီဆိုနိုင်ကြပါသည်။

၎င်းအကြောင်းအရာများကို၊ ပဉ္စမသင်္ဂါယနာတင်မင်းတရားကြီးညီတော်အိမ်
ရှေ့မင်း၏-အိမ်ရှေ့ဝန်-ဦးသင်-မှတ်စုပုရပိုက်တွင်။-ထွေဖြင့်မှတ်သားရပါသည်။

ဆရာသိန်း။

မော်ဝိမြို့။

[The following six *ratu's* of Let-wè-thon-dara have been translated into English prose with a view to a clear understanding of them by such non-Burman readers as may find the original difficult reading. The translation has accordingly been made simple and literal without any attempt at literary effect. Further it is hoped that readers will appreciate the poetical versions of Nos: 3 and 5—the most adapted of the six to English verse—made by Professor G. H. Luce of Rangoon College, in imitation of the internal rhyming used in the original. If we take three consecutive lines, A, B, C, composed of four syllables each, the final syllable of A rhymes with the third of B and the second (and sometimes first) of C; the final syllable of C again setting the new rhyme to the lines that follow. Two variations are permissible: the final syllable of A may also rhyme with the second of B, or immediately with the first of B; in either case, the final syllable of B setting the new rhyme. In the English rhymes one inevitable change has been made—the admission of one unaccented syllable between each of the four accented ones in the line—Editor.]

I.

မဲးဇာတောင်မြေစီးတွေတွေတည်မြစ်ရေဝန်းလည်မြိုင်တောစည်ကန္တာပြည်ကိုသာတ-
ရှာတော့မီးမိုးရှိရှိလျှင်သီရိကြက်သရေတက်ပြီးဝေသားအောင်မြေကြော့ကြော့ကုန်းမေ့မေ့
နှင့်တိုးတေ့တေ့ကောင်းမှုတည်ထားပြုသည်ဇေယျာမီမီးမြောက်ရောင်ညိုမျိုးဂူကြီးသခင်ရှာလင်း
ပင်နှင့်ရှာမြသေ့ခွေခွေရေသော်ရှာစေတိကြီးအသီးသီးတည်ပိတ်ဆီးချယ်သန်းလှယ်ရောင်
တန်းမျိုးရှာနန်းရှာတုံအလုံးစုံကိုအာရုံမှတ်ခြင်းတူးမြော်ချင်၍သည်တွင်ရှာမြို့သည်သို့စေတီ
သည်ဆီရှာနန်းမြောင့်တန်းတော့မည်စိတ်ကရည်သည်။ ရှာပြည်ဌာနဝေးသော်ကြောင့်။

From the beautifully wooded Mèza mountain, whose base gives rise to a continuous stream of whirling waters, my thoughts go back to the Golden City (Shwebo). I behold in my mind's eye the rising piece of ground, elated with the pride of conquest, and the various shrines, suffused with glory and seemingly as high as the sky—the meritorious deeds of the Grand Sire (Alaungpaya). I can even count them by name: the Zambu-Simèe, dazzling with the six rays of glory; the Gūgyi; the Shwe-lin-pin; the Shwe-chin-thay; and the Shwe-ze-di-gyi. They present a beautiful picture of variegated light,—rays running into one another like continued flashes of lightning. Out of the eagerness of my desire to see them with my own eyes, my mind, fixed in its attention, passes them under review:—"This is the Golden City, that is the shrine, and here is the Golden Throne." But the Golden City is so far away.

II.

သဲသာသောင်မြေမြစ်ကမ်းခြေလည်းအကြွေတပြင်တို့အောက်ခွင်ဝယ်ရေရှင်ပတ်ဝန်း
ပျော်အွယ်ထွန်းလိမ့်တကျွန်းလောက်ပင်ဝေးမည်ထင်ခဲ့စီးသွင်ညိုရမ်းမဲးဇာမြစ်လည်းထစ်ထစ်
ထွန်းထီးချိုးပေတီနှင့်တောကြီးဆိတ်ညိုဆီးကျံကျံဝယ်ခူဝံမပေါ်မမျှော်ပါရနေကိုတည်း။
တယ်ကရွှေနောက်တယ်တောင်မြောက်ယုတွေ့ထောက်မမှန်ဖန်ဖန်တုံအောကြိတိုင်းမော့
တယ်တောတယ်မြိုင်မသိနိုင်ခဲ့မပိုင်စိတ်ဝမ်းနေတိုင်းလွမ်းရှင်ကင်းစမ်းတောင်ကလေးစဉ်းစ၍
နောက်မှလေရှည်အတည်တည်သည်။ လေပြည်လာကဝေးသော်ကြောင့်။

How lovely must be the river, with its beautiful sand-banks and its whirling waters, flowing across our Lower Country! Can it be that I live away from home so far as the Andamans? The Mèza river flows with a

continuous uproar, its waters dark with moving images. And the still silent forest, thick with dew, shuts out the North Polar star from my view. When I turn to the Sun, I get no help in my attempt at finding out the North, the South, the East or the West. I can only make guesses. Strange! How it ever gives me endless fatigue to think of discovering the name of a particular forest dale! My mind is unsteady and I long daily for my home. But a breeze comes from Kinsan Mount and its gentle breath has a refreshing effect.

III.

ဝဲးခါညောင်ရေသွန်းမြီးပေတညှိရှိသေသရွှါထုံးစဉ်လာဖြင့်၊မီးဇာရဟိသူတောင်းဆုယူသည်။ရွှေတောင်နှင့်၊ ရှုထိုင်းတင့်သား၊ မိုးမြင့်သီခေါင်၊ မီးဇာချောင်ကတတောင်လုံးမှိုင်း၊စန္ဒေဆိုင်းသော်၊ တောင်ထိုင်း ယှက်ရွှေ၊ ဝန်းကာရွှေသည်၊ တောင် ငွေဝေဝေ၊ အထွေထွေနှင့်၊ လေလည်းရောရာ၊ မိုဗ်းမပါးသန်ဝါမြောက်မြောက်၊ ဆီးနှင်းပေါက်လည်း၊ မိုဗ်းလောက်ပြင်းထန်၊ သွန်းချပြန်သော်၊ ယုဂန်ထင်ယွား၊ တောင်တော်ဖျားကရထားယဉ်သာ၊ နေစင်္ကြာလည်း၊ ရောင်ဝါမထွန်း၊ ချမ်းရှာလွန်း၍၊ တညှိမွန်းချိန်နေ၊ ရောက်လွယ်စေဟူ၊ ခေ့ရေလှည့်လည်၊ တလျှက်မြည်သည်။ နေခြည်ဖြာမှနွေးသော်ကြောင့်။

How glorious is the Shwe-gu-taw where the Mèza people bow their heads in supplication with faithful hearts on the occasion of the time-honoured banyan watering feast! The mountain vapour rising from the Mèza Valley darkens the appearance of the whole mountain and gradually floats along, forming a link between one range and another, and the duskiness of it rises even to the sky. A rainless breeze causes the snow to drop with a pattering sound, loud as the sound of rain-fall. Even the Sun driving his car from the summit of Mount Yugandhara is unable to display his brilliance. And it is so piteously cold that I fondly wish it would soon be midday. All the while I count on my fingers minutes and hours. Will not the rays of the sun when they spread bring some little warmth?

At the Nyaung-Ye festival
Mè-za people, all devout,
Duly fall in prayer and pour
Water to the banyan-tree.
From the valley, see, the shrine
Rises even to the sky.
Mèza! thy pagoda old
Of the Golden Cave is there,
Fair to look on evermore.
Dimly glimmering o'er the mount,
Dusky floor to shadowy head,
Steady hang night's vapours yet;
Soon, as a billowing net, are stirred,
Surging fretful as a flood,
Huddle upward, tower, and crowd;
Then in cloudy streamers free
Stretched across the sea of dawn,
Darkling wreath the heights around
Lost and drowned. The ravelled mist,

Shredded now by twisting winds,
 Patters—listen!—to the ground;
 Drip—drop—the sound is loud
 Like the rounded clear refrain
 Of the rain, though none there be.
 See! the chariot of the Sun
 Peeps o'er Mt. Yugandhara,
 Stooping under vapours wan.
 Numbed, the noon I fondly wait,
 Counting on my fingers chill
 Hours and minutes, till the rays
 Spreading fill the world with warmth.

IV.

ဝေရွန်းစန္ဒာ။ ချမ်းမိပါသာသို့။ ချက်နှာတူ။ တ-သည်သူလျှင်။ ဇေယျအောင်ခန်း။ အပြည်နန်း
 သို့။ ရောက်ပန်းကြီးအင်။ နေမရွှင်နဲ့။ လွင်လည်းတဆိုင်။ မြင်လည်းတထွေ။ မြေလည်းတထူး။ ဝေး
 ခေါင်ကြီးသို့။ ရောက်ဘူးမည်ထား။ ရွာညာဖျားလည်း။ ကြားရသည်သာ။ ထယ်ရဟိမှာထူးကြောင်း
 ရတစီးတတ်မသိနဲ့။ ကျန်းကြီးချက်ချာ။ သို့နေရာနှင့်။ တာသာကွဲလမ်း။ မြိုင်တော့ဝှမ်းဝယ်။ စေ့ချမ်း
 မတူ။ အပူမဟု။ ငြိမြိန်ရရှင့်။ သိဇီအောင်မြေ။ လယ်ချက်တွေနှင့်။ နေလည်းတဆန်း။ နန်းလည်းတ
 ခြား။ မထွေပြားတည့်။ ကိုးပါးလျှံပတ်။ အပြသားနှင့်။ ချက်မြတ်သို့မြည်။ ထွန်းလှည့်လည်သည်။
 နေခြည်ထီးတွင်ပါလိမ့်မည်။

Can one look up at that cool object, the moon, beaming with smiles and not feel oppressively homesick? How uncontrollably I long for the conquering City of Jambudipa! This distant country in the extreme North, a strange land of expansive forest and cloaked by the eternal mist, I only heard the name of, but never dreamt of reaching. I knew nothing of its whereabouts. How different now is it from our country, the centre of Jambudipa! Quite a strange language is spoken here and the whole expanse of the forest feels the extremes of heat and cold. To think that I should have met such experiences! In our victorious Ratanāsingha (Shwebo), the sun cannot be distinguished in brilliance from the Palace Royal, where the rays of light emitted by the nine kinds of precious stones intermingle with the solar rays.

V.

နေဝန်းတန်ဝါ။ ထိန်စကြာလည်း။ အာကာဘိတ်စီး။ ကျန်းလုံးညီးမှာ။ ထိန်းမီးလယ်။ မြိုးမြိုး
 ကယ်၍။ စုံထွယ်ယက်သန်း။ ရှုမခန်းတည့်။ အနန်းမှန်စီး။ ရှိရာဆီသို့။ မြောက်ဦးတင်။ စက်ရာဝင်
 လည်း။ ကြည်လင်ရှိခိုး။ စက်ရာ ခိုးလည်း။ လက်မီးလှည့်လည်။ မွှေဝှမ်းသည်ရှင့်။ အပြည်တော်မှာ။
 ချိန်ခါကို။ သူဇာ-သာဓံ။ မိတ်နံမပြား။ ခါတ်တံခါ၏။ ယွန်းစားရှေ့မှာ။ ပျော်ထွယ်သာရှင့်။ သီတာ-
 ပတ်ကုံး။ မြန်နှင့်ကျိုးလည်း။ တလုံးတည်း။ ရေစီးတွေ။ တွတည့်။ မိုဗီးနှေမခေါင်။ လက်ယာမြှောင်
 လျက်။ နတ်ဆောင်တူသို့။ လေ၏။ သို့လျှင်။ အမြို့အပြည်။ ဝန်းပတ်လည်သည်။ ရေကြည်ထီးပြင်
 သာလိမ့်မည်။

I bow with reverent hands to the place where the rich brilliance of the curiously intermingling rays from the royal palace, high as the sky and of an undying beauty, lights up the whole atmosphere and sends a dazzling sheen throughout the whole island (Jambudipa), at a time when the round sun moves along with a circular light. I think of them with a faithful heart when I retire to bed and I circumambulate with my hands to my forehead

when I rise in the morning. How delightful must be the gates Thuzā, Thāsan and Mit-nan, facing the moat in the Golden City at this time! How beautiful, again, must be the river and the moat, with their cool waters uniting in a continuous stream, flowing clockwise perennially round the town, and with the beauty of their waters and sand banks, appearing as though they were the creation of the Nats!

While the circle of the Sun
Writes her running orbit, I
Piously my hands decline
Toward the place where, finely spun,
Intertwine the rosy rays
That embrace the Palace, sky—
High in dateless beauty, while
Islanded in dazzling air
Lies the World.

Whene'er to bed
I repair, or rise at morn,
Faithful and forlorn I still
Thither turn my heart, and raise
Hands before my face as I
Duly pace my circle just.
Oh! how fair those portals are,
Mitnan, Thāsan, and Thuzā,
Still the guardians as of old
Round the moated Golden Town!
Fair the cold perennial stream,
Moat and teeming river, flow
Socially the city round;
And the banks of mounded sand
So divinely stand that they
Seem the handiwork of Nats.

VI.

နေ့ကျွန်းသန်ကားရုဗျိခါကို။ ကျောင်းသာရန်ကင်း။ စေတီတွင်း၌။ သတင်းအလှူအ
ပြည်သူ့။ ဆုယူစည်းဝေး။ မြို့မြို့ဗွေလိမ့်။ စက်မှေးပိုက်တွင်း။ အိမ်မက်မြင်သို့။ မရှင်လူတ။ လူမ်း
လိုက်ထွန်း။ ဩန်မြို့။ ဆက်။ ဆယ်ကျော်သက်က။ ကြင်တက်စတူ။ တောင်းဆုယူသည်။ အိမ်သူ
ချောသွယ်။ သုံးယောက်မယ်နှင့်။ ပင်လယ်ခြားရာ။ ခရီးကွာသို့။ မှာလည်းမကြား။ သွားလည်းမသင့်။
ဖြစ်သဖြင့်လျှင်။ ပူခွင့်ရှည်ရေး။ ဂြိုဟေ့သေးစိတ်။ ရင်သွေးအတောင်။ သားမောင်နှမ။ ဆင်းသိပ်သို့။
မွေးထရင်ခွင်။ အလက်တင်၍။ ယူငင်ပိုက်ဖျား။ ပျော်မည်များနှင့်။ နှစ်ပါးဗျက်ခြည်။ သားနှင့်ရည်
သည်။ အလည်ဆွဲချင်ရှာလိမ့်မည်။

How sad I feel and long for home at the thought—which comes to me with the clearness of a dream—of the people of Shwebo, dressed in white garments and gathered at the shrines in common prayer, practising the religious observances and dispensing charity at the quiet *kyauungs*, at this time of the year when the heat of summer merges in the moisture of the rains! And there is additional sorrow in store for us—my lovely wife, who has been my

partner, in obedience to the Law of Causation, ever since her tenth birthday and my two children, who seem divided from me as by the ocean, without any chance of communication either by message or by visit. O my breast-born children!—in beauty like the gold, in brightness like a pair of eyes (or gems) and in delightfulness like the rose-water—how would you miss the pleasure of putting your arms round your father's neck and nestling in his embraces !!!

NOTES AND REVIEWS

THE BRONZE FIGURES IN THE ARAKAN PAGODA, MANDALAY.

These consist of two figures of men, three of lions, and one of a three-headed elephant. The human figures are anatomically perfect in expression, proportion, and in the representation of the muscles of the body and limbs. They wear necklets, armlets, and anklets and a scanty loin-cloth. The navel is deep and well-developed, and pilgrims afflicted with dyspepsia or other stomachic ailments insert their fingers into it and turn them about in a rotatory movement, so as to be cured of their affliction. Tradition says that, originally, the number of the human figures was thirty-three, corresponding to the number of *devas* in the Tāva-tiṃsa heaven. The heads of the three lions have disappeared, and attempts, somewhat unsuccessful, have been made by the Pagoda Trustees to restore them. The most interesting figure in the collection is that of the three-headed elephant called "Erāvaṇṇa" or "Erāvata," the *vāhana* or riding animal of Indra or Thagyamin, the god of rain and the Lord of Tāvatiṃsa. The river Irrawaddy (Erāvati), the noble waterway of Burma, is so called because it is supposed to flow out of one of the trunks of Indra's elephant.

These figures were brought over from Arakan in 1784 together with the Mahāmuni Image, when that country was conquered and annexed to the Burmese dominions by the Einyemingyi, the Heir-Apparent of King Bodawpaya (1781-1819). Only a year before, that is, in 1783, Amarapura, the "City of the Immortals," had been founded by the King, and he was supremely delighted to secure the sacred Image, which was the Palladium of the Arakanese race, to adorn as well as to protect his new capital. Exactly a century later, in 1884, during the reign of King Thibaw, the Arakan Pagoda was burnt, presaging a national calamity, and the sacred Image as well as these bronze figures were consumed by fire. In November 1885, King Thibaw, the 11th of the Alompra dynasty, was dethroned by the British and his kingdom was incorporated in the British Empire.

A melancholy interest attaches to the history of this collection of figures, which are a silent witness to dynastic changes and futile ambitions of impotent Kings. In 1581, Bayin Naung, the Branginoco of European writers, who held his Court at Pegu, and whose power and magnificence have often been extolled, and who was the greatest of Burmese Rulers, died, leaving his throne to Nanda Bayin, who is known to Burmese Chroniclers as Ngāzudā-yakā (ငါးဆူဒါယကာ). He was a weakling compared with his father, and the Burmese Empire, the most extensive in Burmese Annals, fell to wreck and ruin, thereby nullifying the unification of the Burmese and Talaings under one Sovereign. The Kings of Toungoo and Arakan conspired to attack Pegu, which had been embellished and adorned by Branginoco in a most lavish manner. The city fell in 1596, and the spoils were shared by the conquerors, these bronze figures falling to the lot of Rāzāgyi, King of Arakan.

These figures were not cast at Pegu, but were brought away from Ayuthia, the capital of Siam, in 1564, by Branginoco, who had waged a successful war against that country. At the same time, the King of Siam and his queens and one son were taken captive to Ava, together with three of the white elephants, the demand for one of which by Branginoco had been the *casus belli* between the two countries of Pegu and Siam.

As Ayuthia was carved out of the Cambodian Empire in 1350, it is just possible that the Siamese received these bronze figures as an heirloom from the Cambodians, whose civilization, religion, and art were based on Indian systems.

It would thus appear that these bronze figures, during, at least, six centuries, have been the silent witnesses of the strange vicissitudes, and the kaleidoscopic turns of fortune of five races of mankind, namely, the Cambodians, Siamese, Talaiings, Arakanese, and the Burmese, that they are the connecting links between the present and a historic past, and that like the Pyramids of Egypt, they still continue to look down on the ages still to come.

TAW SEIN KO.

OUR MUSEUM

To

THE HONORARY EDITOR,

Journal of the Burma Research Society.

Dear Sir,

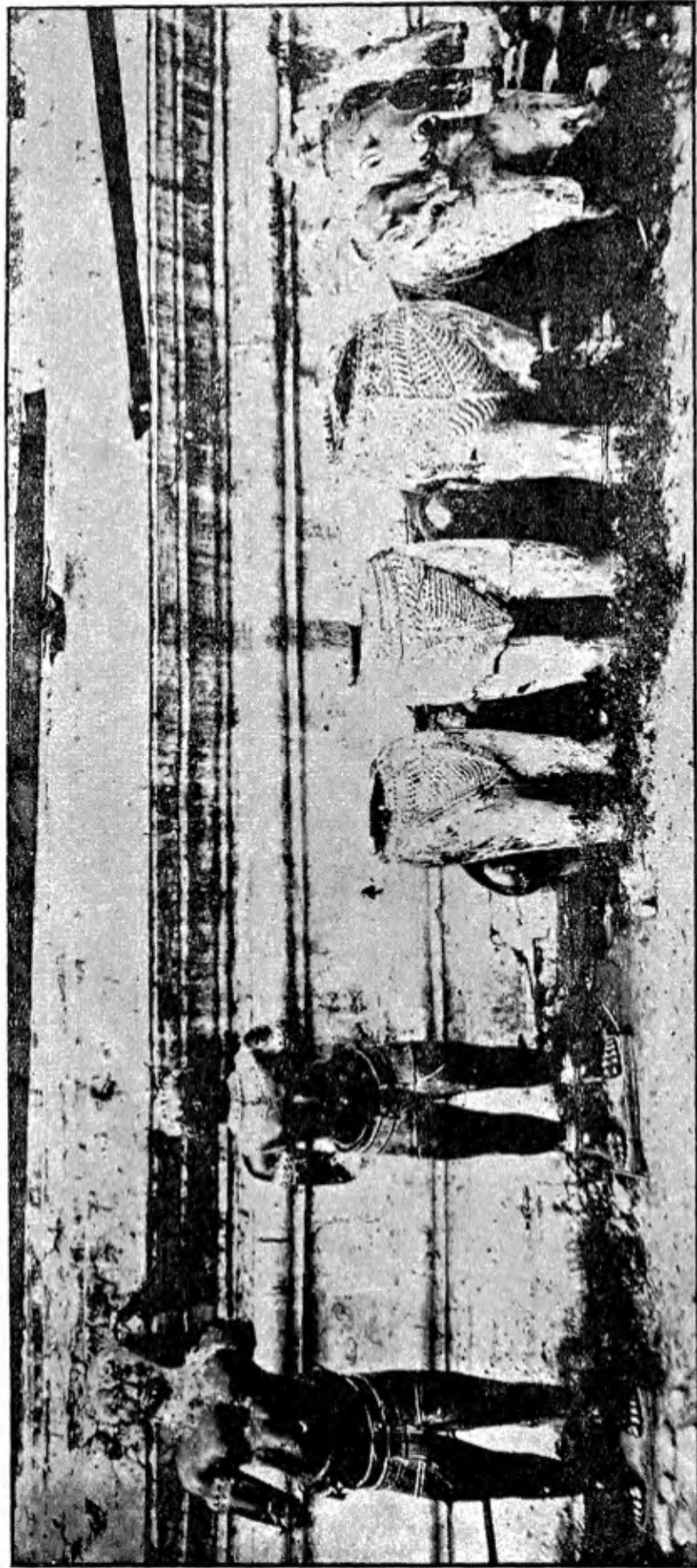
In my note on "Our Museum" which appeared in that number of the Journal for July 1914, pages 219-224, I gave the description of a bronze image of the Buddha (Figure 1/2, Plate I), the history of which, I said, was not known. I am glad to be able to give you now a clue regarding the history of it. At page 206 of Max and Bertha Ferrars' "Burma," there is a figure of the same image which is said to have been "discovered in the foundations of Maha-Mya-Muni, 1784." "Maha-Myamuni" is none other than the Mahamuni Temple at Akyab, said to have been built by King Chandasuriya (146-194 A. D.) to enshrine the image of the Buddha cast during the lifetime of the sage himself in the 6th century B. C. The image was brought away to Amarapura, as a spoil of war, in 1784 A. D., and placed in the Mahamuni Temple, Mandalay. This fact may lead us to many conjectures regarding the age of our figure. The fact of the image being found in the foundations of a Temple which has enjoyed the reputation of being built in the 2nd century A. D., might lead some of us to assume the age of our figure to be the same as the Temple itself, i. e., 2nd century A. D., if not earlier; but from the make of the figure and in the face of the absence of any documentary evidence, I am still inclined to adhere to the decision I had arrived at regarding its age, attributing it to the late mediaeval art. The temple at Akyab has passed through many vicissitudes and has been repaired many times. It was last repaired in 1867 A. D.

MANDALAY,

26th January, 1916.

Yours sincerely,

MAUNG MYA.



The Bronze Figures of the Arakan Pagoda, Mandalay.

A NOTE ON INDICES TO BURMESE BOOKS

အမှားအမှန်ဆင်ခြင်ရန်အကြောင်း။

မြို့နိုင်ငံတော်။ မြို့သူတောသန့် အသင်းက ထုတ်ဝေသော မဂ္ဂဇင်း။ ပဉ္စမတွဲ။ တတိယ ထုတ်-စာအုပ်။ မှတ်နှာနံပါတ်-၁၆၄-တွဲ။ (ရာဇဝင်စသောမြန်မာကျမ်းဂန်စာအုပ်ကြီးတို့၏။ အားအာ။စသည်။ အက္ခရာခေါင်းစဉ်နှင့်မာတိကာများကိုထားသင့်သည်အကြောင်း။) ဖော်ပြသော စာတမ်းအချက်တို့သည်။ များစွာနှစ်သက်ဖွယ်၊မှတ်သားဖွယ်ကောင်းလှပေသည်။

(၁) သို့သော်။ မှတ်နှာနံပါတ်-၁၆၅-နှိုက်။ (ယခုအခါ။၎င်းနည်းအတိုင်း တော်ပြပုံနှိပ် တူးသည်မှာ။ ကျော်အောင်စံထားဆရာတော်စီရင်သည်။ ဝေါဟာရလိနတ္ထပကာသနီကျမ်းကို။ ရန် ကုန်မြို့ ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်။ တတိယမှာ) ဆိုသောအချက်သည်။ ကျမ်းပြု ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်အမည်တွဲလျက် ဖြစ်ပါ ကြောင်း။၎င်း (ဝေါဟာရလိနတ္ထပကာသနီကျမ်း) ကို။ ရတနာပူရ စတုတ္ထမြူတည်။ မင်းကြီးကြီး လက်ထက် မဟာဇေယျသင်္ဃိယာသို့နှင့်။သံတော်ဆင့်ကြီးအရာ။ခန့်ထားသူကောင်းပြုတော်မူသည် ကိုခံရသော။အဘိဓာနတ္ထဝိသောဓနီကျမ်း။တဏှတ္ထဒီပဏီကျမ်းများကို။စီရင်တော်မူသော။သမန္တ စက္ခုဒီပနီ။ကျမ်းတွင်။ သျှင်အိုး။သီရိမာ။အမည်နှင့်လျှောက်သူ။ငယ်မည်ဦးမျိုး။ လှေသင်းအတွင်း ဝန်မင်းစီရင်တော်မူသောကျမ်းဖြစ်ပါသည်။ထိုကျမ်းကိုမန္တလေးမြို့။မြန်မာ့တာရာသတင်းစာပုံနှိပ် တိုက်ကရိုက်နှိပ်သောကျမ်းစာအုပ်ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

(၂) ရတနာပူရ။တတိယမြူတည်။ ဆင်ဖြူရှင်မင်းတရားကြီးလက်ထက်။အရွတ်ဝန်မင်း သည်။အမြူတော်အရှေ့။ကြေးနီချောင်းစာနီ။(တနည်း။) ကျည်းနီချောင်းအနီတွင်။ကျောင်းကြီး ကျောင်းငယ်နှင့်တကွ။ဆောက်လုပ်လှူဒါန်းတင်လှူကိုးကွယ်သော။ကြေးနီချောင်းဆရာတော်ဟူ၍။ ၎င်း။ ကျည်းနီချောင်းဆရာတော်ဟူ၍။၎င်း။ အဘိဓာန်နိဿယကျမ်းကို စီရင်တော်မူသော။ (ပဌမ) ကျော်အောင် စံထားဆရာတော်ဘုရားကြီး၏တပည့်။ ဒုတိယ။ကျော်အောင်စံထား ဆရာတော်စီရင် တော်မူသောကျမ်းမှာ။(ဝေါဟာရလိနတ္ထပကာသနီကျမ်း)ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

၎င်းကျမ်းကို။ရန်ကုန်မြို့။စဉ့်အိုးတန်း။ဧရာဝတီစာပုံနှိပ်တိုက်ကပုံနှိပ်ရာ။ကျွန်ုပ်ကိုယ်တိုင်။ တိုက်ဆိုင်၍။ အက္ခရာအစဉ်။ မာတိကာကောက်နှုတ်ပေးသည့်အတိုင်း။ ပုံနှိပ်စာအုပ် ပြုလုပ်ပါ သည်။

၎င်းစာအုပ်ယခုရှာ၍။ဝယ်၍။မရနိုင်ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

ဆရာသိန်း။

မော်ဒီမြို့။

AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE IN BURMESE

The Agricultural Department of Burma has issued as Occasional Papers No. 2 Mr. J. A. Stewart's pamphlet on Burmese Equivalents for terms connected with agricultural science.

The brochure is the result of the efforts of Messrs. Warth, J. A. Stewart, I. C. S., and Duroiselle. It seems a pity that no Burmese scholars were represented on this small committee, though a few Burmese gentlemen were consulted. One agreeable feature of the publication, however, is that the Director of Agriculture invites suggestions and criticisms. Therefore the pamphlet merely serves as a basis of, and gives an excellent opportunity for, discussion of the subject. And I am glad to contribute my quota towards the common fund of knowledge with a view to rendering a small service to my country.

In a pamphlet purporting to supply Burmese equivalents for "technical and scientific terms in common use," some such commonplace words as 'sand,' 'lime,' 'iron,' 'gum,' 'sugar,' etc., might well have been omitted. A claim has been put forward that "all chemical terms already existing in the Burmese language applicable to the process of western science have been ascertained" with the strikingly negative results. The fact of the matter is that the Burmese possess a limited vocabulary of technical term for certain elements, substances and processes known to alchemists of old. They, therefore, cannot be expected to meet the needs of modern Chemistry which is a comparatively young science. "As regards positive results," says Mr. Stewart, "we have brought to light a number of little known terms and have devised a number of new equivalents." The learned author found that Pali compounds, though not difficult to form, are useless as a rule. In favour of Pali terms, however, I may urge that they have the merit of being shorter than the cumbrous Burmese phraseology and are more dignified. The objection on the ground of their less intelligibility may be met by good definitions which cannot very well be dispensed with in a scientific work. At present the author recommends the use of those which possess the merit of simplicity. But one finds Pali terms, imported or coined, even where one least expects them, i. e., where there are pure Burmese equivalents already existing in the language. How far the author has succeeded in his claim to simplicity may be seen from the following discussion. I will now proceed to examine the positive results attained by the Committee.

GENERAL LIST.

မြေစာ (earth's food) is simpler than the hybrid မြေအာဟာရ for 'manure.' မြေဝါတ်စာ is worse in that it is ambiguous. It may mean 'diet for earth' or 'food for the element of earth.' ဝါတ်စာ is generally understood to mean diet prescribed for a human patient in order to bring about an equilibrium of the 'four elements' in an animal body either by supplying the deficiency of one or other of them or by counteracting the excess of any. The natural exhaustion of soil's fertility bears, I think, a better analogy to the natural wastage in a human body than to a diseased body. Again, မြေစာကြွေးသည် (to feed the soil) is, in my opinion, better than မြေသြဇာကြွေးသည် for the verb 'to manure.' Pali 'Ojā' (from root ud-to produce) has no doubt something to do with productivity and means 'the nutritive essence of a substance.' The combination မြေသြဇာ applies to those properties of the soil which help to nourish plants and therefore means 'soil's fertility.' Hence မြေသြဇာတိုးစေသည် (to increase its fertility) would be more accurate, though long.

'Vikati' is not so good as 'Vikāra' for 'decomposition.' The former may refer to the product of transformation, but the latter always does to the process itself. When both refer to the process, they are rendered into Burmese by ဘောက်ပြုခြင်း (change). But if we wish to explain that chemical decomposition is a change from the complex to the simplex, we shall have to say အပေါင်းသဘောမှ အမိတ်အမိတ်သဘောသို့ ဘောက်ပြုခြင်း (lit., a change from the nature of a whole to that of parts). Now when an animal body decomposes, we say ခုတ် (to rot). But when vegetable matter decomposes, we use quite a

different idiom ဆွေးမြေ့သည် (to decay). And when the decaying matter gives off bad smell, we generally adopt the combination ဖုတ်ဆိုးဆွေးမြေ့သည်။

It will have struck even the most casual student of Burmese that the combined use of synonyms is a notable feature of the language. This characteristic reminds me of a subject which has hitherto received no attention whatsoever. The subject is intrinsically important in that it directly bears on the philosophical study of the Burmese language. European scholars, nay, Burmans themselves, are apt to ridicule the idea that many of their monosyllabic words in daily use are of Pali origin. Now I submit, with due deference to recognized authorities on orthography, that ဖုတ် is more correctly spelt ဖုတ် from Pali 'pu' (excrement) through 'puti' (putrid).

The device of using two or more synonyms in combination is not so much for the rhetorical effect, as is generally supposed, as for intelligibility. Those who first naturalized new Pali words desired to explain later words by well understood ones which were already existing in the language. For example, the Burmese wanted a word to express their new idea of 'logician.' They naturalized တတ် from Pali 'takka' and ကြံ was merely prefixed to explain the meaning of the newly introduced word. Similarly သိ was affixed to ဖုတ်။ I will give a few more examples to illustrate my point.—

သုတ်သင် from Pali 'sudh,' to clean.
 ပိတ်သို့ " " 'pidh,' to shut.
 လိမ်းကျံ " " 'limp,' to smear.

Now in each of these three pairs, the first member is of unmistakeable Pali origin. But whether the second member was a pure Burmese or was in turn derived earlier from Pali, I cannot say. The growth of the language through Pali in this way may be imagined from the facility with which the Burmans have rung several changes out of one simple Pali root 'ci'—to collect or accumulate.

စီးပွား—profit.
 စီစဉ်—to arrange.
 ခုစပ်—to join.
 ခုဆော်—to solder.
 ဝေးကပ်—to adhere.
 ဆည်းကပ်—to serve.
 ဆည်းရ—to collect.
 ဆည်းပူး—to accumulate.

The subject is fascinating and awaits research. But I have digressed. To come back to our pamphlet under review.

အရည်ဖျော်လွယ် and မရည်ဖျော်လွယ် are current expressions for 'soluble' and 'insoluble,' အရည်လည်မလည် being generally reserved for 'clever or not.' လည်—to turn—is the equivalent of the English word 'versed,' from *verto*—to turn.

'Vatthu' (substance) is not accurate for 'ingredient' which (from *in* and *gradi*—to go) etymologically answers to Pali 'Aṅgā' (from *ag* or *ang*—to go). Aṅgā is defined as that which goes into a whole.

Not a little strange combination 'Rukkha-bhojana' approved by U Than Zin, said to be a well-known Burmese scholar, in preference to သစ်ပင်စာ to express 'plant food,' is rather startling. ဘောဇဉ် (from Pali, bhuja-to eat or enjoy) is generally applied to human food for higher classes.

It is difficult to get an exact equivalent for 'organic' so as to convey the idea of a structural part capable of performing a special function which is essential to the life or well-being of the whole. 'Sa-sambhāra' and 'A-sambhāra' would merely express the distinction between 'structural' and 'non-structural.'

'Saha-jīva' is seldom met with in Buddhist literature, the more usual form being 'sa-jīva.' 'Sajīva' and 'Nijīva' correspond to Burmese သက်ရှိ and သက်မဲ့ which distinguish 'living' from 'lifeless.' 'Nijīva' has the further disadvantage of metaphysical association as a synonym of 'Ni-satta' (no-soul).

'Satta-loka' and 'Saṅkhāra-loka' indicate a distinction between 'animate' and 'inanimate' worlds. But the vegetable kingdom is included in the latter.

There is, however, a well-recognized pair of terms—'Indriya-baddha' and 'Anindriya-baddha' (lit. bound up, or not bound up, with Indriya)—which denote a distinction between 'sensate' and 'insensate.' For instance, in Buddhist philosophy, matter which enters into the composition of animal body is termed Indriya-baddha Rūpa, whilst matter which enters into the composition of a metal or mineral is termed Anindriya-baddha Rūpa. But the term 'Indriya' is wide and includes sense, life and moral controls. So 'Sa-jīvitindriya-baddha' and 'A-jīvitindriya-baddha' would restrict us to the idea of the vital process of an organic whole. We may, however, substitute these jaw-breaking Pali compounds by paraphrastic Burmese အသက်နှင့် စပ်ချက်တကွဖြစ်တတ်၊ မဖြစ်တတ်သော။

One would expect 'sippa-maya' (accomplished through art) on the analogy of 'vijjā-maya' (accomplished through science) in place of 'sippa-ja' (produced by art) for 'artificial.' But here again, we have an equally well-recognized pair of terms—'sayam-jāta' (naturally produced) and 'param-kata' (done by some one, lit. by another)—to oppose 'natural' to 'artificial.' In pure Burmese we should say အလိုလိုဖြစ်သော and လုပ်ငြိုငြင်အပ်သော or လူအတတ်ဖြင့် ဖြစ်အပ်သော။

မြေသား (soil-substance) does not express the idea of texture. I would suggest မြေအဆောက်အဦ (soil-structure).

SOILS.

ရေဆွယ်ချခြင်း (leading water down) may be added to the meanings of 'drainage.' But I deprecate the hybrid ဝါယောဆွင်းခြင်း for 'aeration.' 'Viyoga' (lit. disjunction) is not so good as 'apacaya' (breaking-up, from ci—to collect) for 'disintegration.' But ဖျက်စီးထိယွင်းခြင်း is preferable as more intelligible. Neither ကြော် nor ဖြန့် is suitable, as the former is suggestive of reduction to powder and the latter, of exhaustion.

No Burmese equivalent has been suggested for 'constituent.' I would propose 'sambhāra-aṅgā' or အဆောက်အဦအင်္ဂါ (structural part).

SOIL COMPONENTS.

Mr. Stewart says that 'khandhā' is probably the best word for 'components.' I must here enter a strong protest against the possible confusion between 'khandhā' and 'aṅgā.' The former refers to the whole and the latter, to parts.

The suggested rendering for 'physical classification' is distinctly bad. If translated into English, it reads—'Naming by convention the soil classes according to objects.' သမုတိခြင်း (from Pali 'Sammata') is naming by a sort of general consent. But 'classification' corresponds to Pali 'Jātibheda' which may be rendered by အမျိုးခွဲခြင်း. Physical classification may mean classification of soils according to texture, or physical properties or physical components. The heading shows that here composition is intended. So the expression may be rendered အဆောက်အဦ အင်္ဂါအားလျော်စွာ ဖြေမျိုးခွဲခြင်း.

The author puts a query whether there is no single word for 'loam.' As a matter of fact, neither ဖြေစေး (sticky earth) for 'clay' nor ဖြေဆွေး (decayed earth) for 'humus' are single words. သဲဆန်သောဖြေ may stand for 'loam.' But why not သဲဖြေစေး? This would leave us free to express 'sandy loam' by သဲလဲသောဖြေစေး and 'clayey loam' by ဖြေစေးကဲသောသဲ (sand in which clay preponderates).

'Mineral constituents', as now rendered as 'a group of metals that are in the earth,' would be misleading to Burmans who do not find anything of the kind in metallic state in the soil which they cultivate. 'Mines' is expressed in Burmese by တွင်း (pit) as in ကျောက်တွင်း (Ruby mines) or သံတွင်း (iron mines). The adjective 'mineral' would be intelligible if we say တွင်းမှထွက်လေ့ရှိသော. 'Mineral constituents' may, therefore, be paraphrased by ဖြေအဆောက်အဦတွင်း. တွင်းမှထွက်လေ့ရှိသော ကျောက်သတ္တုအင်္ဂါများ. 'Organic constituents' should be similarly rendered အသက်ရှင်စိလျက်တကွဖြစ်တတ်သောဖြေအဆောက်အဦအင်္ဂါများ.

'Chemistry' has hitherto been rendered ဓာတုဗေဒပညာ (the science of the analysis of elements). ဓာတ်ခွဲ ဓာတ်ပေါင်းပညာ (the science treating of Chemical composition and decomposition) would be more accurate. But if any one wants a Pali word which should at once mean both composition and decomposition, I would recommend 'Saṅkara' (sometimes written 'Saṅgara') which will be found in Ledi Pandita's Pali Dictionary. ဓာတ်ကိစ္စကိရိယာပညာ should not, however, be despised as the science treating of Chemical actions and reactions. Then 'Chemical constituents' may be rendered ဓာတ်ကိစ္စအားဖြင့် ကျေးဇူးပြုနိုင်သောဖြေအဆောက်အဦအင်္ဂါများ.

It may be observed that the expression ကျေးဇူးပြု here has nothing to do with human gratitude. It is the Burmese equivalent of the Pali 'Upakāraṇa' (to render service), a highly philosophical term for expressing an action in a given relation.

Mr. Stewart thinks that ဝ (lit. to rise, i. e., into activity) expresses the idea of reaction rather well. Perhaps so, if one considers the aspect of the soil springing into activity after lying dormant for some time. But if the idea be that the soil, treated with, or acted on by, manures, reacts on plants, then တာဘန်ကျေးဇူးပြုခြင်း would express the force of the prefix *re* in 'reaction.'

Now we are in a position to translate the sentence: Manures supply plant food and organic matter, alter soil texture and affect soil reaction:—

မြေစာသည်သစ်ပင်အား အစာပေး၏။ မြေကြီးအားသာ ဖိပ်တိပြီး ဗဒ္ဒရုပ် ဝတ္ထုများကို (or အသက်နှင့် စပ်လျက် ဖြစ်တတ်သော ရုပ်စုကို) ပေး၍ မြေအဆောက်အဦ အခြေ အနေကို ပြောင်းလဲစေပြီးမှ၊ ၎င်းမြေသည်သစ်ပင်အားတတန်ကျေးဇူးပြုပြန်၏။ ။

Mr. Stewart next goes on to observe: "It seems to be settled that ငရဲဗီးရည် (hell's fiery liquid, not to be confounded with the German's liquid fire) means any kind of acid." This name has been applied to a few burning acids in the liquid form that came to the notice of the average Burmans. But to apply it to, say, Boracic acid in powder would be extremely ludicrous even to ignorant Burmans.

Shwe Pyi Mingyi, that fine-souled scholar who has not yet been excelled by any to my knowledge, introduced အချဉ်ဓါတ် and အင်ဓါတ် for 'acid' and 'alkali' respectively in his Anatomy. And I am rather surprised that Mr. McColl should have suggested 'sweet' for the latter; in Burmese 'sour' is opposed to 'saline' and not to 'sweet.' 'Sweet' is complimentary to 'sour' as in ရှိချဉ် for light refreshments. 'Sweet' having been ruled out of court, အညွ (slimy) has been made to take its place as most descriptive of alkalis. But in any scheme of classification by senses, I should think that it would be more satisfactory to classify according to one sense at a time. I have never met with the variant ညွှဲ which may be a misprint for ညွှဲကပ်. Mr. Duroiselle seems to have exhausted his Pali vocabulary in suggesting the Sanscrit 'Cāra' for 'slimy.' On the whole, I think Shwe Pyi's terms are about the best. If an acid be a liquid, call it ချဉ်ဓါတ်ရည် but if a salt, call it ချဉ်ဓါတ်ဆား။ When soils are classified according to their acidity or alkalinity, we may say အချဉ်ဓါတ် or အင်ဓါတ်ပါသော (or ကဲသော or လွန်သော) မြေ, or simply မြေချဉ်, မြေင်။

For 'neutral' Mr. Duroiselle's 'Majjhatta' (misprinted majjatta) is about the best. But why not အလယ်အလတ်ဖြစ်သော or ကြားသဘောရှိသော? လျစ်လျူ is subjective and 'udāsino' may also mean 'upright.'

PHYSICAL PROPERTIES OF SOILS.

မြေ is a particle of anything. I therefore suggest မြေရနံ့ for soil particles. ရေမိခိုပေါက်ငယ်တို့ (lit. small holes through which water percolates) is descriptive of pores. I need only point out that pores or interstices in a body are spoken of in Buddhist philosophy as 'pariccheda-rūpa.' I would reject 'dhuma-dhātu' (smoke-element) for soil gases. မြေဗို is quite sufficient.

ရေမိခိုလွယ် and မလွယ် are happy for 'pervious' and 'impervious.' But I think မြေကြံ့ (stiff soil) and မြေပွ (spongy soil) are good enough. မြေခွံ is descriptive of friable soil.

SOIL WATER.

ရေခုတ်ခြင်း (lit. suction of water) does not express the idea of capillary attraction. ဆံခြည်ပေါက်ဖြင့်ရေခုတ်ငင်ခြင်း would be a fuller rendering, with an explanation added.

I would add ရေငွေ့ထွက်ခြင်း or ရေငွေ့စွတ်ခြင်း to the meanings of 'evaporation.'

ရေသောက်ခြင်း (lit. the drinking of water) is not expressive of the process of transpiration through plants. The simile of perspiration would help to give an adequate idea. ကိုယ်မှဆွေးထွက်သကဲ့သို့သစ်ပင်မှရေငွေ့ထွက်ခြင်း (excretion of aqueous vapour from plants as sweat from body).

The expression proposed for 'leaching,' if translated into English reads — 'The essence of soil is carried away by excessive flowing.' I would propose ဖြေမှုအရည်ပျော်လွယ်သောအင်္ဂါရ ရေစိမ့်ယို၍ပါသွားခြင်း (the removal of soluble constituents of soil through percolation of water).

The distinction between protozoa and bacteria as vital and non-vital would defeat the object of inculcating a very important lesson that some bacteria cause diseases. Burmans speak of disease germs as အနာပိုး and of ferment as မျိုး. I would propose အငယ်ဆုံး ပိုးမွှားများ (smallest animalcules) for 'protozoa,' ပိုးမွှား being commoner than the little known term အလှူအလွှေး. And I would suggest တုတ်သက်သဏ္ဌာန်ရှိသောအငယ်ဆုံးမျိုးရှင်များ for 'bacteria.' But if a shorter Pali word be preferred, I recommend 'anubija' for the latter, since 'anu' not only denotes smallness but also implies slenderness, as of a filament.

The mention of bacteria brings me to the important subject of fermentation. When Burmans speak of acetous or acetic fermentation, they say ပိုးရည်ပေါက် (intrans.) or ပိုးရည်ဖောက် (causal), calling the မျိုး or the specific fungus (*mycoderma aceti*) ဝေရီးခေါင်း. When they speak of alcoholic fermentation as ကစေ့ပေါက် and ကစေ့ဖောက်, they call the မျိုး or the yeast (*Torula*) တဆေး. But they reserve ထန်းရည်ခါးပေါက် and ဖောက် for toddy fermentation in which the မျိုး is called ထန်းရည်မြီး (the residual dregs that stick to the bottom of the pot). ချိုချဉ်ပေါက် and ဖောက် express the lactic fermentation in which the မျိုး or *Bacterium lactis* is known as အလင်း. This word occurs in the expression အလင်းဖြတ် (continuously).

Now here is a clear case in point which illustrates the drawback of demonstrating a scientific process by Europeans, who cannot themselves express that process in Burmese, to a group of non-English speaking Burmans who do not understand the process either. When say, an alcoholic fermentation was demonstrated before them, they thought they were asked on the phenomenon of effervescence and they promptly gave the word ဆူ (to boil). But when putrefactive fermentation was demonstrated, they gave ပုပ် (to rot), and I think they derived their idea of ဆွေးထွက် (to sweat) from the demonstration of ammoniacal fermentation.

Now the word ပေါက် ordinarily means 'to grow' as in သစ်ပင်ပေါက်. The pair ပေါက် and ဖောက်, when used in conjunction with မျိုး has a great deal to do with growth. Again, when an egg hatches or is hatched, we say ဥပေါက် and ဥဖောက်. In this expression ဖောက်, being the causal of ပေါက်, is equivalent to ပေါက်စေသည့်. But ဖောက် as in ဖောက်ဖြန့် (now written ဘောက်ဖြန့်) is intransitive. The transitive use of it, as in ဆကြားကိုကစေ့ဖောက်သည့်, would convey the idea of the conversion of sugar into alcohol through the action of the ferment.

ကစေ့ခေါက် for Oxygen is objectionable on metaphysical grounds. In Buddhist philosophy, 'Tejo' means heat and the Buddhist idea of 'heat' includes 'cold,' as in science. မီးခါတ်ခိုး (not မီးခိုး—smoke) is preferable.

Note that I would distinguish gas and vapour, the former as အမိုး and the latter as အငွေ့. The expressions proposed for 'oxidation' give the ideas of the entry, or forcing into, of Oxygen, but not of the form of slow burning which consists in combination with that gas. This idea is better expressed by မီးခတ်မိုးနှင့်ပေါင်းစပ်၍တငွေ့ငွေ့လောင်ခြင်း။

ပယ်ရှား ခြင်း (removal) is not reduction. When a compound is reduced to metallic elements, we may say with our old Alchemists မူလသတ္တုဆိုရာခြင်း။ သမသည့် (to be even) is better than အစာကြေ (to be digested). But မှုတ်ခြင်း (Pali Yāpana) is current in literature for 'assimilation of food.'

CHEMICAL LIST.

အစဲးအရည်၊ အမိုး are quite good and simple Burmese for solid, liquid and gas. I would reserve 'Gaṇa' (Pali) for 'mass,' as it is applicable to a mass of cloud which certainly is not solid. By the way, I think အမိုင်အစဲး is more correctly spelt အဆိုင်အစဲး to show the connection of particles, one with the other, in a mass. But if any one wishes to adopt more dignified Pali, I should suggest 'pathavamsa' (earth-group), 'jalamsa' and 'vāyamsa' of the mediaeval Buddhist literature to express the three states of objects in nature

Mūla (root or radical) is better than 'Suddhā' (purity) for 'elements' But Mrs. Rhys Davids agrees with me that 'Dhātu' is best rendered by 'element.' There is no objection to the combination မူလဓါတ်။

'Missaka' is suggestive of a mixture. I therefore propose သမုဟဝတ္ထု for 'compound' as opposed to မူလဓါတ်။

'Suspension' has been defined as a liquid in which something floats on the surface. I would suggest တွဲတွဲဆွဲသကဲ့သို့ရှိ မှန်အနုယံများ မျောနေသောအရည်။ to convey the idea of suspension.

ရောနှောနေသောအရည် (a mixed liquid) is too vague for 'emulsion.' I would simply call it နို့ကဲ့သို့သောအရည် (milk-like liquid) and then define it as နို့နှင့်အရောင်အဆင်း။ အကြံအပျစ်တူစောင်ဖြူဖြူ အပ်သောအရည်။ (i. e., as a liquid preparation of a colour and consistency resembling milk).

NAMES OF SOME ELEMENTS.

အာဟေဓါတ် for Hydrogen is equally objectionable in consequence of metaphysical association. In philosophy it means cohesion, though in popular language it stands for water.

In English the compound is scientifically named from the element. The reverse is the case in Burmese. Thus Nitrogen is called 'saltpetre-element' and Calcium, 'lime-element.' Perhaps there would be no objection to this procedure provided that a principal compound generally met with be selected. But there would be a confusion if the same compound were known differently in different localities, or if one principal compound be met with in one locality and another, in another, or if the same word denotes two different substances in two localities. For instance, I am not quite sure if chlorite is not known by any other name but 'stone-pearl.' Again, wolfram is, I believe, popularly called ဝံ in Mergui and Tungsten would have to be named 'iron-element' in so far as Merguians are concerned. Lastly, the rendering of Silicon by

ကျောက်သလင်းခဲ would lead a Burman to understand the element as extracted from pebble, while his Arakanese brother would think that it is obtained from marble.

Potassium is named 'tree-root-salt (-metal)-element.' Why not ဖိုတသီးယပ် or ဖိုတဒီးယပ်? I would recommend English names transliterated as far as practicable whenever there are no generally accepted Burmese equivalents for the Chemical elements themselves.

NAMES OF SOME COMPOUNDS.

Caustic potash is generally known as ဖြာသာ (ash-salt). But to convey its causticity, I would prefix လောင်စားတတ်သော. There is a want of symmetry in the attempted renderings of caustic potash and caustic soda as regards the position of the word 'āpo' in the compound terms.

Now whatever the termination *ate* in hydrate may indicate, ခုံ (complete or a pair) in Burmese will never do the duty of ဖြို to indicate the stable equilibrium of a compound. Why not simply ဟိုက်ဒရေတ်?

I am not enamoured of အခေါင်းကော် (hole-gum) or အကြောကော် (gum obtained from the grains of a plant) for 'cellulose.' I would propose အနှစ်သဘောသို့သော(ကော်)ဝတ္ထု as a substance which forms the essential part (Pali Sāra) of the solid frame-work of plants (Pali Dabbasambhāra).

This description of cellulose shows that အသားကော် (flesh-gum) is hardly appropriate to express proteid which is an albuminoid. As the albumen of an egg is called အကော (Pali Pheggū, the opposite of Sāra), I suggest အကောသဘောသို့သော(ကော်)ဝတ္ထု.

SCHEME OF SALT AND ACID FORMATION.

Pali 'Dve' (two) placed at the end of a word might give rise to the idea of 'twice' as in 'pañcaviññāna-dve.' ခုက် (Pali Duka—a pair or couple) would be free from ambiguity to express that a compound is binary. Even then a Burman would infer from the present rendering that Nitrogen Oxide is a binary compound of saltpetre and Oxygen. The scheme is also faulty to the extent that it would make a Burman think that Carbonic Acid gas is a liquid. I am not joking when I say that Nitrate of Zinc, as now rendered, might be misunderstood by a Burman as "a collection of all sorts of medicine, namely, saltpetre, zinc, etc."

The suggested terminations အခံ့မခံ့ do not imply satisfaction or dissatisfaction. ဖြိုက်မဖြိုက် would express the idea better. But I would not use them as terminations at all. If I wish to explain that chlorine in chlorate is satisfied with Oxygen, I should say ကလိုရိတ်၌ကလိုရင်ခါတ်သည်ဖြိုက်ဆီဂျန်ခါတ်ကိုဖြိုက်သည်။

On the other hand, if I wish to explain that chlorine in chlorite is not so satisfied, I should say ကလိုရိတ်၌ကလိုရင်ခါတ်သည်ဖြိုက်ဆီဂျန်ခါတ်ကိုလိုသည် (wanting).

But if I wish to explain that chlorine in perchlorate is more than satisfied with Oxygen, I would say ဝါကလိုရိတ်၌ကလိုရင်နှင့်တက်သောဖြိုက်ဆီဂျန်ခါတ်လွန်သည် (excessive).

The present rendering of Potassium chlorite reads rather paradoxical in that it gives rise to the idea that chlorite and Potassium are both wanting in that compound. Again, it is not impossible for a Burman to think that both these are complete (န) in the chlorate but excessive (လွန်) in the perchlorate.

It will be a hopeless task to attempt to devise terms for numerous compounds and the attempt will lead to confusion worse confounded. I would transliterate Sulphurous and Sulphuric into ဆာလ်ဖျူရပ်စ် and ဆာလ်ဖျူရိတ်.

In conclusion I would strongly recommend the retention of H_2SO_4 in preference to ဆာလ်ဖျူရိတ် which will be as puzzling to those who have studied Chemistry in English as Dr. Ledi's mnemonics to older students. There will be no difficulty for non-English speaking Burmans to master the English characters and figures. Witness the Land Records Department.

SHWE ZAN AUNG.

FURTHER NOTES ON MAHAZANAKA PYO, 23.

U Tin, K. S. M., A. T. M., the author of the note in the last issue of this Journal on a passage occurring in his palm-leaf manuscript of the Mahazanaka Pyo, might have taken a different view on the matter, and his efforts would have served a better purpose, had he previously seen the reading of the same passage in the manuscript in the Bernard Free Library. I am prompted to say this because U Tin is the author of ကဗျာပဒ္သန္တရကျမ်း a work on Burmese Versification, which reveals his good knowledge of that particular branch of literature.

I am one of the admirers of the poems written by the Twinthin Taik Wun or the Twinthin Mingyi, author of the Pyo which I used to learn by heart from a palm-leaf manuscript in my youth. Though I have lost my manuscript copy in a fire I still have in memory the particular passage in question which strictly agrees with that in the Bernard Free Library manuscript.

Saya Pi of the Translation Department in the Burma Secretariat procured for me a printed copy issued by the Burma Herald Press so far back as 1234 B. E. (1872 A. D.) i. e. some four years before U Tin's copy was made. In that manuscript I find a reading somewhat corresponding with that of the Library manuscript except that နားဆင် is spelt နာဆင်. But this omission of only two dots is obviously the printer's mistake.

Another palm-leaf manuscript in Sayadaw U Sanda's Library at the Shwedagon Pagoda, Rangoon, was also consulted. The reading in it is the same as that in the Bernard Free Library manuscript.

The reading in the Hanthawaddy Press Edition which U Tin must have seen before he prepared his note has နားဆင် for နာဆင်; but this does not in my opinion alter the meaning appreciably.

The meaning of the passage is very simple, and is as follows:—"The officer who regulates the rate of motion cannot keep his head." This is one of the many instances of the author's ingenious and fine way of expressing an idea in poetical phraseology. A parallel instance may be found in one

of the previous verses in the same poem in which instead of directly saying "At sixteen years of age" he says သက်လေးနှစ်ကြိုင်းနှစ်ဆယ်တွင်းမှတွင် which literally means "At an age which is short of twenty by four years."

For easy reference I give below the different readings of the passage:—

1. U Tin's manuscript.—သွားစစ်နားမြိန်နာရီချိန်နှင့်မာလိန်ပူးဝေ။
2. Hanthawaddy Press Edition.—နားဆစ်သွားမြိန်နာရီချိန်နှင့်မာလိန်ပူးဝေ။
3. Bernard Free Library manuscript and Sayadaw U Sanda's } နားဆစ်သွားမြိန်နာရီချိန်နှင့်မာလိန်ပူးဝေ။ manuscript.
4. Burma Herald Press Edition.—နားဆစ်သွားမြိန်နာရီချိန်နှင့်မာလိန်ပူးဝေ။

Readings Nos. 2 and 3 give the same meaning. နားဆစ် literally means "A new rest," while နားဆစ် means "A division of rest;" hence both expressions convey the meaning "unit of space," i. e., the space passed over to each successive "new rest" or to each successive "division of rest;" the expression သွားမြိန် here simply implies "motion;" and နာရီချိန်နှင့် "time taken in passing over," or in other words "unit of time." All these taken together therefore mean "the rate of motion or speed."

Saya Pi also approves of reading No. 3. But he differs from me in his interpretation. He says that နားဆစ် "the distance covered;" သွားမြိန် "the speed;" and နာရီချိန်နှင့် "the time taken," all put together simply mean the rate of speed, and what that speed could be is explained by the foregoing sentence in the context တနေ့ရောက်ခါ ရက်လည်လှာသော်လှူနေရာရက်ရာဖြင့်ဖြစ်၏ "the vessel going at the rate of one hundred yojanās per day covers a distance of seven hundred yojanās on the seventh day."

Saya Pi further explains that the phrase နားဆစ်, etc., does not qualify in any way the word မာလိန် and that this officer feels sick simply because the vessel has been going at a great speed.

His note which is reproduced here is worth reading. He has interpreted the meaning of that part of the verse in which the passage occurs by bringing it into comparison with the Burmese translation of the Pali commentary of the Jataka on which the poem was based.

Saya Lin of the Kawi Myet Hman Press, Rangoon, has also favoured me with his opinion on the matter. He is in favour of the reading of the manuscript in the Bernard Free Library; but he only accepts it with an amendment. He disagrees with U Tin on several points.

According to this learned Saya နားဆစ် means simply "to listen." He explains that it was the custom of ancient mariners to check the speed by listening to the sounds caused by the vessel breaking through the waves by the force of the wind and also by observing the time. There is some force in his argument and I therefore reproduce his note also which is full of useful information.

P. B.

NOTE BY SAYA PI.

သွားဆစ်နားမြိန်နာရီချိန်နှင့်ဆိုသောစကားသည်အမှန်မဟုတ်။ "နားဆစ်သွားမြိန်နာရီချိန်နှင့်ဆိုသောစကားသာအမှန်ဖြစ်၍"မှန်သောအလင်္ကာကိုသာ"ဓာဋ္ဌကထာပါဠိဖြင့်သက်သေထား၍"ရေးသားဖြေဆိုလိုက်သည်။ "

ပေါလမည်ခေါ်ဘလွှေတော်ကား—ချီသောပိုဒ်၏မှီရာ
မဂဓမူလအဋ္ဌကထာပါဠိ။

တံဒိဝသမေဝပေါလ ဇနကဿသမိရေရောဂေါဥပပါဒိ။ အန္တဋ္ဌာနသေယံသယိ။ တဒါသတ္တ ဇဗ္ဗိသတာနိနာဝံ အဘိဇ္ဈဟိ”သု။ နာဝါသတ္တဒိဝသေဟိသတ္တယောဇန သတာနိတော။ သာအတိ စဏ္ဍာဝေ ဂေနဂန္ဓာ (သာအတိစဏ္ဍာဝါတဝေဂေနဂန္ဓာ) စဏ္ဍာနံ ဝါဟိတုံနာသက္ခိ။ ဗလကာနိ။ ဘိန္နာနိ တတောတတောဥပကံဥဂ္ဂတံ။ နာဝါသဗုဒ္ဓမဇ္ဈေနိဗုဒ္ဓါသညာဋ္ဌကထာပါဠိသည်ကို။ ထိုးတော်မင်းတရားကြီးလက်ထက်ပဌမမဟာသင်္ဃိယာ ညွှန်ကြီးဝန်း နောက်မဟာစည်သူညွှန်ကြီးသင်းထိုက်ဝန်း၊ ၎င်းတွင်းသင်းမင်းကြီးသမိုက်ကြသော။ ရဟန်းမည်လင်္ကာသာရ။ မောင်းထောင်ရွာလျှင် တွားရာဇာတိ။ ငယ်မည်ဦးတွန်းညီသည်။ ဇာတ်အဋ္ဌကထာပါဠိအတိုင်း တရုဦးလမ်းကြောင်းထား၍ရေးသားစီကုံးသောမဟာဇနကဏ္ဍဖြစ်သည်။

အဋ္ဌကထာပါဠိ၏ မြန်မာပြန်ချက်။ ။တံဒိဝသမေဝ။ အလောင်းမင်းသားပင်လယ်သို့ ထွက်သွားသောထိုနေ့ပင်လျှင်ပေါလဇနကဿ။ ဘလွှေတော်ပေါလဇနကမင်း၏။ သမိရေ။ ကိုယ်၌။ ရောဂေါ။ အနာသည်။ဥပပါဒိ။ ဖြစ်ပွားစွဲကပ်၏။အန္တဋ္ဌာနသေယံ။ လူးလာတတန်ပြန်၍ မထသော အိပ်ခြင်းကို။ သယိ။ အိပ်စက်တော်မူ၏။(ဤကားကိုသေပြီဟူ၍မဟူရသေး)တဒါ။ ထိုအခါ၌။ သတ္တဇဗ္ဗိသတာနိ။သင်္ဘောသား၇၀၀ထိုသည်။နာဝံ။သင်္ဘောသို့။ အဘိဇ္ဈဟိ”သု။တက်ကြကုန်၏။ နာဝါ။သင်္ဘောလှေသည်။သတ္တဒိဝသေဟိ။ ခုနစ်ရက်သောကာလတို့ဖြင့်။သတ္တယောဇနသတာနိ။ ဟူဇနာ၇၀၀ထိုင်ထိုင်။ဂတာ။သွား၏။သားထိုသင်္ဘောလှေသည်။ အတိစဏ္ဍာဝါတဝေဂေန။အလွန်ကြမ်းသောလေအဟုန်ဖြင့်။ဂန္ဓာ။သွားလေ၍။အတ္တနံ။မိမိကိုယ်ကို။ဝါဟိတုံ။ရှက်ဆောင်စဉ်သော ဌာ။နာသက္ခိ။မတတ်နိုင်။ ဗလကာနိ။ဥဉ်ချပ်တို့သည်။ ဘိန္နာနိ။ကွဲကွဲကုန်၏။ တတောတတော။ထိုထိုကွဲရာအရပ်မှ။ဥပကံ။ရေသည်။ဥဂ္ဂတံ။တက်လေ၏။နာဝါ။ သင်္ဘောလှေသည်။သဗုဒ္ဓမဇ္ဈေ။သမုဒ္ဒရာအလယ်၌။နိဗုဒ္ဓါ။နစ်မြုပ်၏။

၎င်းအဋ္ဌကထာ။ မိန့်မှာသည့် အတိုင်း။ တံဒိဝသမေဝ ဟူသောပါဠိကို မြန်မာ ပြန်ဆိုတော်မူသောနိဿယဓာတ်၏ အလောင်းမင်းသားပင်လယ်သို့ထွက်သွားသော ထိုနေ့ပင်လျှင်ဟူသော စကားကိုယူ၍။ထိုရောင်ပွင့်ခက်။သင်္ဘောထက်သို့တက်လတ်သနေ့ဟုအလင်္ကာဆရာစပ်ဆိုသည်။

ပေါလဇနကဿသမိရေဟူသောပါဠိကို မြန်မာပြန်ဆိုတော်မူသော နိဿယဓာတ်၏ တလွှေတော်ပေါလဇနကမင်း၏ ကိုယ်၌ဟူသောစကားကိုယူ၍။ ပေါလမည်ခေါ်။ ဘလွှေတော်ကားဟု အလင်္ကာဆရာစပ်ဆိုသည်။

ရောဂေါဥပပါဒိအန္တဋ္ဌာနသေယံသယိဟူသောပါဠိကိုမြန်မာပြန်ဆိုတော်မူသော နိဿယဓာတ်၏ အနာသည်ဖြစ်ပွားစွဲကပ်၏။ လူးလာတတန်ပြန်၍မထသောအိပ်ခြင်းကို အိပ်စက်တော်မူ၏ ဟူသောစကားကိုယူ၍။ရောဂါတွေ၍။ပျောင်းရွှေ့မှိုင့်၍။ သလွန်ထက်ဝယ်။ ဗျည်းစက်ဝိုင်း။အိပ်တုံလေ၏ဟုအလင်္ကာဆရာစပ်ဆိုသည်။

တံဒိဝသမေဝဟူသောပါဠိအရ။ထိုရောင်ပွင့်ခက်။သင်္ဘောထက်သို့။တက်လတ်သနေ့ဟု ပခါနစကားကို စပ်ဆိုလေပြီးဖြစ်၍။ တဒါသတ္တဇဗ္ဗိသတာနိနာဝံ အဘိဇ္ဈဟိ”သုဟူသော ပါဠိအရ။ သင်္ဘောသား ၇၀၀ ထိုသည်သင်္ဘောသို့တက်ကြကုန်၏ဆိုသော အပခါနစကားကို ပုဒ်ရုက္ခိဒေါသကိုပယ်၍အလင်္ကာဆရာမြွင်းချွန်စပ်ဆိုလေ၏။

သာအတိစဏ္ဍာဝါတဝေဂေနဟူသော ပါဠိကိုမြန်မာပြန်ဆိုတော်မူသော နိဿယဓာတ်၏ လှေသည် အလွန်ကြမ်းသောလေအဟုန်ဖြင့် ဟူသောစကားကိုယူ၍ လှေစကြာမွန်၊ပြင်းထန်တိုး၌၊ လေကြောတွေ၍ဟုအင်္ကာဆရာစပ်ဆိုသည်။

နာဝါသတ္တဒိဝသေဟိ သတ္တ ယောဇနသတာနိ ဟူသောပါဠိကို မြန်မာ ပြန်ဆိုတော်မူသော နိဿယသရဏီ ခုနစ်ရက်တို့ဖြင့် ယူဇနာ ၇၀၀ တိုင်တိုင်ဟူသောစကားကိုယူ၍ တနေ့ရောက်ခါ။ ရက်လည်သာသော်။ ယူဇနာခုနစ်ရာပြန်ဖြစ်၍ဟုအင်္ဂါသရဏီဆိုသည်။

ဂတာ-ဟူသောကြိယာစကားကို မြန်မာပြန်ဆိုတော်မူသော နိဿယသရဏီ(သွားရောက်)၏ ဟူသောစကားကိုယူ၍ ယူဇနာ ၇၀၀ တိုင်တိုင် ခရီးလမ်းထောက်ရောက်သော အကန်အသတ်အဆစ်အပိုင်းကိုနားဆစ်ဟုအင်္ဂါသရဏီဆိုသည်။

ဂန္ထာဟူသော နောက်ကြိယာစကားကို မြန်မာပြန်ဆိုတော်မူသော နိဿယသရဏီလျှင်သော အဟုန်ဖြင့်သွားလေ၍ဟူသောစကားကိုယူ၍ သွားရှိန်ဟုအင်္ဂါသရဏီဆိုသည်။

သတ္တဒိဝသေဟိ ဟူသောပါဠိကို မြန်မာပြန်ဆိုတော်မူသော နိဿယသရဏီ ခုနစ်ရက်တို့ဖြင့် ဟူသော စကားကိုယူ၍ ကာလ အခန့်အတွက် နေ့ရက်အပိုင်းအခြားကိုပင် နာရီချိန်နှင့်ယူစပ်ဆိုသည်။ ။ ၎င်းသဟာဒိယောဂစကားကိုနာရီချိန်နှင့်ယူဇနာ ၇၀၀ -ရက်သည်ဟုစပ်၍ယူရမည်။ မာလိန်မူးဝေ၏သဟာဒိယောဂမဟုတ်ချေ။

အတ္တာနံနိဝါဟိတုံနသက္ခိဟူသောပါဠိကိုမြန်မာပြန်ဆိုတော်မူသော နိဿယသရဏီ မိမိကိုယ်ကို ရွက်ဆောင်စဉ်သောငှါ မတတ်နိုင်ဟူသောစကားကိုယူ၍ မာလိန်မူးဝေဟု အင်္ဂါသရဏီဆိုသည်။

ကျန်စကားရဲ့ အဋ္ဌကထာပါဠိအရ။ ပင်လယ်ထွေဝယ်စသော စကားများကို အင်္ဂါသရဏီဆိုတော်မူကြောင်းထင်ရှားသိလိုက။ ၎င်းလင်္ကာပိုဒ်ကိုအဆုံးတိုင်ရှုပါလေ။ သမုဒ္ဒမန္တေနိရုတ္တိဟု အဋ္ဌကထာပါဠိရှိသည့်အတိုင်းပင်စပ်ဆိုလေသည်။

အပိုအမိသွင်း၍သက်သက်အင်္ဂါသရဏီဆိုသည်မဟုတ်။ အဋ္ဌကထာပါဠိကိုမလွန်ချေ။

ဝိဇ္ဇာတ္ထအဓိပ္ပါယ်။

တထွေးတော်ပေါလဇနကမင်းသည်။ ဘုရားလောင်းသင်္ဘောသို့တက်သည့်နေ့ပင် ရောဂါဇရာ၍မထသောအိပ်ခြင်းဖြင့်အိပ်လေ၏။ ဇနကမင်းသားစီးသောလှေသင်္ဘောသည်။ ပြင်းစွာသောလေကြမ်းယူဆောင်၍ ခုနစ်ရက်မျှကာလအချိန်နာရီနှင့်သွားသောအဟုန်အရှိန်။ တန့်နားရာအဆစ်အပိုင်းခရီးယူဇနာ ၇၀၀ ရောက်၏။ သင်္ဘောလှေသည်လျှင်သောအဟုန်ဖြင့် လေကြမ်းဆောင်ယူသွားသောကြောင့် မိမိကိုယ်ကိုမတည်တံ့ မရွက်ဆောင်နိုင်အောင်မာလိန်သည်မူးဝေ၍။ ပင်လယ်ထွေတွင်မျှော့ကုပ်သံပတ်ကျွတ်ခါပြတ်လျက်။ ဖျဉ်ချပ်ကွဲပျက်။ ချွန်းဆက်မျောပါး။ ပျက်ပြားနစ်မြ့်ဝံ့၏ဆိုလိုသည်။

ထကျယ်ရေးကလွယ်နှင့်မပြီးရှိပါမည်။

ဆရာဘိ။

NOTE BY SAYA LIN.

ဇနကမျိုလင်္ကာမှာ။ “သွားစစ်နားရှိန်” ဟူ၍၎င်း။ “နားဆစ်သွားရှိန်” ဟူ၍၎င်းကွဲပြားကြရာ။ “သွားစစ်နားရှိန်” ဟူသောစကားကိုအတည်ပြုလုပ်၍ အဓိပ္ပါယ်တော်ပြဆိုခြင်းသည် ယုတ္တိမရှိ။ မရှိပုံမှာအောက်ပါအတိုင်းဖြစ်ပါသည်။

သွားစစ်နားရှိန်။ နာရီချိန်နှင့်။ မာလိန်မူးဝေ။ ဟူသောလင်္ကာမှာ။ “စစ်ဟူသောစကားတလုံးတည်းကို။ သွားမှာတရပ်။ နားမှာတရပ်။ ရှိန်မှာတရပ်။ နာရီချိန်မှာတရပ်။ စပ်တပ်ပြီးလျှင်။ သွားခြင်း။ နားခြင်း။ အရှိန်သတ်ခြင်းများကို နာရီချိန်နှင့်စစ်ဆေးသောသူ” ဟူ၍ဆိုလိုရင်းအဓိပ္ပါယ်ကိုတော်ပြရာ။ ၎င်းအဓိပ္ပါယ်ကိုရည်ရွယ်၍ လင်္ကာဆရာရေးရင်းမှန်ပါလျှင်။ ဤလင်္ကာသည်နေယုတ္တ

ဒေါသသင့်၏။ နေယျတ္ထဒေါသဟူသည်ကား။ တိုက်ရိုက် ထုတ်ဆိုသော စကားမျိုးဖြင့် ဆိုလိုရင်းအာမိပ္ပါယ်ကိုမသိနိုင်။ စကားအပိုအမိုထည့်သွင်းမှ သိနိုင်သောစာဖြစ်ပင်တည်း။ ဤလင်္ကာမှာလည်း။ “သွားစစ်နားရှိန်” ဟူသောစကားမျိုးကိုသာတိုက်ရိုက်ဆိုရာ။ ရှိန်၊ မှာ။ သတ်၊ ဟူသောစကားကိုအပိုအမိုထည့်သွင်းပြီးလျှင်။ အရှိန်သတ်ခြင်းကို စစ်ဆေးသောသူဟူ၍။ အာမိပ္ပါယ် ကောက်ယူရသောကြောင့် နေယျတ္ထ ဒေါသသင့်၏ဟု ဆိုလိုသည်။ ပါဠိလိုပါဠိသောသ။ မြန်မာလို စကားကြွင်းထားကောင်းသောနည်းရှိသည်မဟုတ်ပါလောဟူ၍ မေးရန်ရှိ၏။ ပါဠိသောသ-စကားကြွင်းထားကောင်းသောနည်းကားရှိပါ၏။ သို့သော်လည်းလိုရင်းမဟုတ်သောအပေါ်စကားစုကိုသာ အကြွင်းထားကောင်းလေသည်။ လိုရင်းပေါ်စကားကို အကြွင်းမထားရ။ ဤလင်္ကာမှာ။ အရှိန်သတ်ဟူ၍ အာမိပ္ပါယ်ပြန်ဆိုရာ။ ရှိန်ဟူသောစကားသည်အပေါ်စကား။ သတ်ဟူသောစကားသည်ပေါ်စကားဖြစ်၏။ သို့ဖြစ်၍ ပေါ်စကားဖြစ်သောစကားကိုအကြွင်းထားရှိမှန်ပါလျှင်နေယျတ္ထဒေါသမှမလွတ်နိုင်။

နေယျတ္ထဒေါသသာမဟုတ်။ ကမမ္မုတဒေါသလည်းသင့်၏။ ကမမ္မုတဒေါသဟူသည်ကား။ အစီအစဉ်ချွတ်ယွင်းသောစာဖြစ်ပင်တည်း။ ဤအရာမှာ။ သွားခြင်း၏အခြားမဲ့၌။ အရှိန်သတ်ခြင်းဖြစ်သင့်သည်။ အရှိန်သတ်ခြင်း၏အခြားမဲ့၌။ နားခြင်းဖြစ်သင့်သည်။ ဤသို့ဖြစ်ပါလျက်။ “သွားစစ်နားရှိန်” ဟူ၍သွားခြင်း၏အခြားမဲ့၌။ နားခြင်း။ နားခြင်း၏အခြားမဲ့၌။ အရှိန်သတ်ခြင်းကို ပြဆိုခြင်းကြောင့်ကမမ္မုတဒေါသသင့်၏ဟုဆိုလိုသည်။ အကယ်၍ “နားစစ်သွားရှိန်” ဟူ၍ဆိုမူကား။ ကမမ္မုတဒေါသလွတ်ကင်း၏။ ရှေးပြခဲ့သောနေယျတ္ထဒေါသကားမလွတ်နိုင်။

၎င်းနေယျတ္ထဒေါသမှလွတ်ကင်းစေရန်။ သတ်’ဟူသောစာပိုစကားကိုမထည့်ဘဲ။ သွားခြင်းကိုစစ်ဆေးသောသူ။ နားခြင်းကိုစစ်ဆေးသောသူ။ အရှိန်ကိုစစ်ဆေးသောသူဟူ၍အာမိပ္ပါယ်ကောက်ယူခဲ့လျှင်လည်း။ ဤအရာမှာ။ အရှိန်ဟူသည်သွားခြင်းကိုသာအဓိပ္ပာယ်ရကောင်းသဖြင့်။ သွားခြင်းကိုစစ်ဆေးလျှင်ပင်အရှိန်ကိုစစ်ဆေးခြင်းကိစ္စလည်းပြီးသောကြောင့်။ ယင်းသို့ပြီးပြီးသားကိုတဖန်ထပ်၍ဆိုခြင်းသည်ပုနရုတ္တိဒေါသသင့်၏။ ပြခဲ့ပြီးသောအတိုင်းကမမ္မုတဒေါသလည်းသင့်၏။ ဤကဲ့သို့ဒေါသမလွတ်နိုင်သောလင်္ကာကိုရှေးပညာရှိတို့မဆိုတန်ရာ။

“သည်ကဲ့သို့ထူငင်ရသော နည်းကို ပဒိပနည်းခေါ်ပါသည်။” စသည်ဖြင့် ပြဆိုအပ်သော စကားလည်းမသင့်။ ပဒိပနည်းဟူသည်တခုတည်းသော စကားကို ဌာနများစွာလိုက်၍ စပ်ဟပ်ယူငင်ရသောနည်းမဟုတ်။ ဆီမီးသည်။ အရောင်ထွန်းလင်းစေခြင်း။ အမိုက်မှောင်ကင်းစေခြင်း။ ဆီကိုကုန်ခန်းစေခြင်းဆီမီးစာကိုကျွမ်းစေခြင်း ဟူသောကိစ္စများကိုတပြိုင်နက်ပြီးစီးစေနိုင်သကဲ့သို့။ သဒ္ဓါတခုတည်းဖြစ်လျက်အနက်အဓိပ္ပာယ်တရားစွမ်းနိုင်သောနည်းသာလျှင်။ ပဒိပနည်းဖြစ်သင့်၏။ တခုတည်းသော စကားကို ဌာနများစွာ လိုက်၍။ စပ်ဟပ် ယူငင် ရသော နည်းကား။ ဒိပကနည်း သာဖြစ်သင့်၏။

အထောက်အထားအဖြစ်ဖြင့်။ ။ ရှေးတူနန်းရိုး။ တတန်စိုးက။ ။ ဟူသောပလိပ်စားဇာတ်။ စသည်ကိုထုတ်ဆောင်၍။ ၎င်းလင်္ကာတို့မှာအသီးအသီးစပ်ဟပ်ထူငင်ခြင်းများလည်း မသင့်။ အတယ်ကြောင့်နည်းဟူမူ။ တယ်လိုပင်အသီးအသီး စပ်ဟပ်၍ အာမိပ္ပါယ်ခွဲခြမ်းသော်လည်း။ အာမိပ္ပါယ်အထူးမရကောင်းမရနိုင်သောကြောင့်ပင်တည်း။

အဝယဝတ္ထုပြစကားရပ်မှာလည်း။ “ဘုန်းရှိန်သီလရှိန်စသောအာကာသဓါတ်ကြောင့်” ဟူ၍ ၎င်း။ “ဘုန်းရှိန်သီလရှိန်စသောအာကာသဓါတ်၏အရှိန်ကိုဆိုပါသည်။” ဟူ၍ ၎င်းပြဆိုသောစကားစုသည်မသင့်။ အာကာသဓါတ်ဟူသည်။ တစုံတရာသဘာဝလက္ခဏာ မရှိကောင်းမရကောင်းသောတင်းလင်းအပြင်ကောင်းကင်တရားသာဖြစ်၏။ တစုံတရာမရှိသော တရား၌ အတယ်မှာအရှိန်ရှိနိုင်ပါစွဲနည်း။ ဘုန်းရှိန်ဟူသည်ဘုန်းဟုခေါ်သောရှေးပါရမီကံ၏ အစွမ်းအာနုဘော်ပင်တည်း။ သီလရှိန်ဟူသည်လည်း။ သီလတရား၏ အစွမ်းအာနုဘော်ပင်တည်း။ အာကာသဓါတ်၏ အာနုဘော်မဟုတ်။ ဘုန်းကံတရား။ သီလတရားတို့နှင့် အာကာသဓါတ် တရားသည် တခြားစီဖြစ်၏။ နောက်မှာလည်းအကျယ်သာလေတုံ။

ခြင်းကိုဖြစ်စေတတ်သော သီလသမာဓိတရားတို့၏အားအစွမ်းသည်၊ သီလသမာဓိအရှိန်မည်၏။ သူတပါးတို့ အား ကြောက်ရွံ့ ရှိသေခြင်းကို ဖြစ်စေ တတ်သော ရှေးပါရမီ ဘုန်းကံ၏ အားအစွမ်းသည်ဘုန်းရှိန်မည်၏။

မာလိန်၊ ဟူသောစကားကား။ သင်္ဘောသားကုလားတို့၏ တာသာစကားရင်းဖြစ်ရာ၏။ အတိဓာန်ရှိသူကိုရေးသားပြီးဆုံးသော။ ၁၁၀၈-ခုနှစ်တွင်အောင်။ သင်္ဘောသားကုလားတို့နှင့်စကားမနှိုးနှောမိကြသေး၍ ၎င်းရှိသူမှာ။ မာလိန်ဟုမပြန်ဆို။ ထိုနောင်စကားနှိုးနှောမိကြသောအခါသို့ရောက်မှ။ ၎င်းကုလားတို့စကားကိုယူ၍ မြန်မာတို့သုံးစွဲပြောဆိုကြဟန်တူ၏။ သို့ဖြစ်၍။ နောက်ကဗျာတို့၌သာ။ မာလိန်ဟူသော ဝေါဟာရတွေရှိရ၏။ သင်္ဘောတွင် အကြီး အကဲဖြစ်သော အရာရှိ တယောက်ဟုဆိုလိုရင်းဖြစ်၏။ ထိုကြောင့်နက်သတ်တာမိန်းရှုမှော်မိန်း။ မာလိန်သင်္ဘောမင်းဟူ၍ ကပိလက္ခဏာ၌စပ်ဆိုလေသည်။ သင်္ဘောပေါ် ၌ အရာရာမျိုးကိုလိုက်၍ ကြည့်ရှုရသော အင်္ဂလိပ်အရာရှိတယောက်ကိုမာလိန်ဟူ၍၎င်းကဲ့သို့ကြည့်ရှုရသောကုလားတယောက်ကိုဆလင်ဟူ၍ ယခုအခါအထက်နိုင်ငံသားတို့ခေါ်ဝေါ်လျက်ရှိကြ၏။ မာလိန်မှူးဝေ-ဟူသောစကား၌လည်း။ “မှူး”မဟုတ်။ “မှူး”သာဖြစ်သင့်၏။ မှူးဟူသည်ကား။ အကြီးအမှူးပင်တည်း။ ဤမာလိန်မှူးဟူသောစကားနှင့်။ ကပိလက္ခဏာလာ-မာလိန်မင်း-ဟူသောစကားတို့ အတူတူပင်ဖြစ်၏။ သင်္ဘောပေါ်၌ ကြီးကဲအုပ်စိုး၍အမြဲလိုက်ပါနေရသောသူသည်။ သင်္ဘောဗျက်၍ ရေနစ်မြုပ်သော်သာမြုပ်ရာသည်။ တရက်လျှင် ဟူဇနာတရာကုရာအသွားမြန်ရှိဟူ၍ မှူးဝေခြင်းမဖြစ်နိုင်ရာ။ သို့ဖြစ်၍အကြီးအမှူးဖြစ်သော မာလိန်သည်တစုံတရာချမ်းသာခွင့်ကိုကြံစည်၍မရနိုင်အောင် တွေဝေသည်ဟူသော အဓိပ္ပာယ်ကိုပြလို၍ မာလိန် “မှူးဝေ” ဟုစပ်ဆိုတော်မူသည်ဟုမှတ်ရာ၏။ ရှေးအခါကညဝါအရာတွင်လွန်စွာကျော်စောတော်မူသော တုပ္ပလင်းသရာတော်ဘုရားကြီးသည်။ ၁၁၀၅ ခုနှစ်၌ခါတုကထာ အမျိုးကိုရေးသားတော်မူရာတွင်။ ဖြစ်ပင်လယ်ဗွေထဲမှာ။ ရွှေ့နောက်လွှဲမြောက်တောင်ဝေ။ မာလိန်မှူးအထင်မှားသို့။ သင်္ဘောရှင်ကိုကုလားတို့။ သွားခက်ကြပေ။ ဟူ၍အိမ်ခြောက်ကိရိယာမပါသဖြင့်အရှေ့အနောက်စသည်တို့ကိုမှတ်သားရန် မာလိန်မှူးတွေဝေသည်ဟူသော အဓိပ္ပာယ်ကို စပ်ဆိုလေသည်။ ဤဇနကမျိုး၌ကား။ အရှေ့အနောက်စသည်ကိုမှတ်သားရှိဟူ၍ တွေဝေသည်မဟုတ်။ ခုနစ်ရက်မျှဖြင့်ဟူဇနာခုနစ်ရာ တိုင်ရောက်အောင်လျှင်မြန်စွာ သွားသောသင်္ဘောကို တစုံတခုသော အရပ်၌ဆိုက်ကပ်ပြီးလျှင်သတ္တဝါအများ ချမ်းသာရကြရန် မကြံစည်နိုင်တွေဝေသည်ဟူ၍ မှတ်ယူသင့်၏။ သို့ဖြစ်၍မာလိန်မှူးဝေ၏နောက်မှာပင်လယ်ဗွေဝယ်။ လေလည်းလေရူး။ ရှေးထက်တူး၍။ တယ်ကူးညာရှက်စသည်ဖြင့် မာလိန်မှူး မကြံစည်နိုင်ဘဲ တွေဝေသောကြောင့် သင်္ဘော ဗျက်ရဟန်ကို စပ်ဆိုလေသည်။

၁၂၅၂-ခုနှစ်တွင်ဟံသာဝတီစာပုံနှိပ်တိုက်ကပုံနှိပ်ပြီးစီးသောစာအုပ်မှာကား။ “နားသစ်သွားရှိန်” ဟူ၍ရှိ၏။ ၎င်းရှိသည့်အလိုအားဖြင့်လည်း။ လှိုင်းဂရက်တို့ကိုခွဲဖြတ်လွှမ်းမိုးကာ။ ငြင်းစွာအသံဖြစ်ပေါ်စေလျက်သွားသောသင်္ဘော၏ အရှိန်အဟုန်ကိုနာဗိုမြန်နှင့် နားထောင်ရသောသူဟူ၍ပင်ပြခဲ့ပြီးသောအဓိပ္ပာယ်အတိုင်းဆိုလိုသည်။ နားတောင်ခြင်းကိုပင်။ ကဗျာစပ်ဆိုသောအခါတို့မှာ။ လင်္ကာအသွားအလာသို့လိုက်၍။ နားတင်သည်။ နားကြိုင်သည်။ နားလန်းသည်။ နားထုံသည်။ နားသစ်သည်စသည်ဖြင့် ယဉ်ကျေးထွယ်ရာဆန်းကြယ်စွာ သုံးစွဲကြမြဲဖြစ်၏။ ဤသို့ “နားသစ်သွားရှိန်” ဟူသောစကားမှာလည်းဖြောင့်မတ်သောအဓိပ္ပာယ်ပင်ရစေကာမူ။ ယဉ်ကျေးထွယ်ရာအောင်သုံးစွဲသောစကားတို့မည်သည် မင်းခမ်းမင်းနားတို့၌သာအတူး သင့်လျော်သည် ဖြစ်၍။ သင်္ဘောသားအခမ်းအနားမှာ ပဌမပြခဲ့သော “နားဆစ်သွားရှိန်” ဟူသောစကားကိုသာ အတည်ပြုလုပ်ရန်သင့်၏။

ဆရာလင်း။

KABYATTHACANDIKĀ KYAN

BY

Saya Pe, Burma Archaeological Survey.

This work is so named by the author because it undertakes to illuminate, like the moon, the inner meanings of the poem, known as ဝေဇာသီလဝိသုဒ္ဓိ which was composed by U Hpyaw, bearing the title of Minyerājā, in compliance with the wishes of Prince Singu, son of Sinpyushin (1763-1775). Considerable importance is accorded to the poem, which derives its value not only from the poetical stand-point, but also because it gives a detailed account of the history of the world as handed down in Buddhist tradition. Accordingly, the poet has utilized every legend and myth in order to prove the descent of the Burmese kings from Mahāsammata, the first king of the world, in conformity with the common usage of all writers of Burmese literature. This habit, however, was the outcome of strong religious belief: Buddhism so fortunately and gratuitously given to Burma had not lost its glamour but made the sons of Burma still imagine themselves to be the Chosen Ones of the Buddha and the Kings of Burma his Kinsmen. Was not Sinpyushin the owner of the white Elephant, an animal invested with special Buddhistic endowments and whose appearance signified religious prosperity and political success? Why should he be inferior to Asoka, that favoured King of India? Did not also the Kings of Burma build shrines and kyaungs as costly as the Asokārāma or "Asoka's Park"? And did not King Mindon convene a Buddhist Council as important for the Tripi-takas as the one convened by Asoka? And why should the noble cities, Ava, Sagaing, Amarapura and Mandalay be less famous than Rājagaha, Vesāli and Pāṭaliputta? Thus the excess of religious faith has made good any deficiency or inconsistency in the past history of Buddhist Burma.

In a work like ဝေဇာသီလဝိသုဒ္ဓိ which purports to sing the praises of Burmese Monarchs elevated to the realm of Buddhist thrones, there must be many references to Buddhist legend and quasi-historical tradition, which are beyond the comprehension of the ordinary mind. The present poem is full of such difficulties, which is one good reason why Burmese poetry is not readily appreciated. There are so many Buddhist technicalities that no one without a sound of knowledge of Pali and Buddhist literature will understand them. It should reflect great credit on the annotator that he has explained every stanza of the poem with mastery, so that he is not guilty of vanity in calling his work *kabyatthacandikā*, which lights up the dark passages of the poem with the clearness of the moon. The work being the first part takes up the history to the appearance of Pyu-saw-htee.

In a few places the explanation suffers from the author's unacquaintance with modern research, which has at least, modified some of the accepted beliefs of native scholars. The derivations of Bārānasī, as a city so called from a *rock shaped like a monkey's head* (p. 112), and of Takkasilā, as a place where people usually went to make up their deficiency in knowledge (p. 123) have had their day.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

The Annual General Meeting.

The Annual General Meeting of the Burma Research Society was held at Rangoon College on the 4th February 1916. There were present: Mr. M. Hunter, C. I. E. (in the chair), the Right Revd. Bishop Cardot, Dr. T. F. Pedley, the Hon'ble Mr. J. Guy Rutledge, the Hon'ble U Hpay, U May Oung (Vice-president), Saya Thein, U Hla Baw, Mrs. E. Powell Brown, Mr. Habgood, Mr. E. H. L. Seppings and Maung Tin (Hon. Editor and Secretary).

Patron:—In opening the meeting, Mr. Hunter announced the election of His Honour Sir Harcourt Butler as Patron of the Society in succession to Sir Harvey Adamson.

Officers:—Mr. Hunter was appointed President in place of Sir Henry S. Hartnoll. In accepting the office, Mr. Hunter expressed his thanks at the honour conferred on him and promised to do his best for the Society. The Hon'ble Mr. R. E. V. Arbuthnot, U May Oung and Mr. J. T. Best were elected Vice-presidents. Professor A. D. Keith, U Set and Maung Tin were respectively re-elected Hony. Secretary, Hony. Treasurer and Hony. Editor.

The following were elected members of the Committee:—

Mr. J. G. Covernton, the Hon'ble U Tun Myat, the Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Rutledge, Dr. G. R. T. Ross, U Shwe Zan Aung, Mr. W. G. Wedderspoon, Mr. G. F. Arnold, Mr. J. S. Furnivall, the Hon'ble Mr. C. Morgan Webb, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Cardot, the Hon'ble U Hpay, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice U Kin, Rev. W. C. B. Purser, Mr. J. A. Stewart, U Ba, Mr. A. P. Morris, Rev Dr. E. W. Kelly, the Lord Bishop of Rangoon, Rev. J. A. Drysdale, U Po Byu and L. Ah Yain.

The Annual Report:—Professor Maung Tin then read the annual report, which stated that at the end of 1914, there were 242 members. During the year 1915, ten new members were elected, but the Society lost four members by death (viz. Rev. Father E. Luce, Messrs. A. Gaitskell, R. F. Greer and U Aung Zan) and one member, who resigned. The number on the roll was therefore 247 at the end of 1915, showing an increase of five over the preceding year.

The only change in the officers was the absence on leave of Mr. Keith, the Hony. Secretary towards the close of the year. Professor Maung Tin acted for him. The Journal appeared regularly in three numbers and the Society met twice in January and September and did all the business that was to be done.

Accounts:—The statement of accounts, read out by the chairman, showed that on the 1st January 1915, there was in hand a balance of Rs. 5911-4. During the year 1915, there was received a sum of Rs. 2,519, made up of Rs. 2,249 as subscriptions from 96 ordinary members, Rs. 150 as subscription from one life member, Mr. J. L. McCallum, I. C. S., and Rs. 120 interest on Rs. 3,000 kept on fixed deposit with the Chartered Bank. The total expenditure during the same period amounted to Rs. 2,257-10-3. There was then on the 31st December, 1915, a balance of Rs. 6,172-9-9.

On the proposition of Mr. J. G. Rutledge seconded by Dr. Pedley, the accounts were passed.

Researching:—Professor Maung Tin then read a paper on "Researching" by Mr. J. S. Furnivall, I. C. S.,

The Chairman remarked that the subject of the paper was of considerable interest to the Society; but before making any remarks he would ask the members to give their opinion on the subject, particularly as to the reasons why people said the Society was dull and stagnant.

Mr. Rutledge remarked that the paper had given them an opportunity to say something. They had been in existence for six years, and as far as the membership was concerned, the Society was a respectable one. As far as the finance was concerned, in spite of the strenuous times, their Society was not in such a lamentable state as others were. They had substantial funds with them. He did not know whether the suggestion made in the paper of adding "B. R. S." to the names of members would prove an attraction or a terror (laughter). He thought that the general committee might consider whether the Society should give prizes for the best grammar, the best novel, the best literature in Burmese, or the best work of art during the year. He thought that it was up to them to encourage such things. The journals they had published contained a host of interesting subjects.

Dr. Pedley was of the opinion that they might do something to encourage art. They might, he said, very well give a prize for literature; or a prize for some excellent work in some branch, such as carving, etc. He said he would like to see that done.

U May Oung suggested that this matter might be referred to the Managing Sub-Committee to take such action as they thought necessary.

Mr. Habgood thought that they should try to get more members from the Districts where so little of this Society was known.

The Chairman, in bringing the discussion to a close, said he could hardly believe that the Society was in a dull and stagnant condition. In recent years the attendance had been apparently small, but they would find the same thing occurring in meetings of similar societies. The work of the Society was measured by what was done in the Journal, and not the doings of its meetings. What was to be actually done at meetings was done by the President and the Vice-President. What was printed in the Journal went all over the world. So far there did not seem to be any lack in material publication. In any case as the attendance at meetings was small, he felt that somehow things were not as bright as they ought to be. With regard to the various suggestions put forward he agreed with U May Oung that these things would have to be threshed out by the Sub-Committee, who would see if any of the suggestions were practicable. The suggestion of having "B. R. S." added to the names of members did not commend itself to the speaker very much. The question of prizes was one of considerable interest; and one or two small prizes would not cost very much. There were many ways in which some of their money could be spent. There were at present in the Library a large number of manuscripts, and they could be published. He did not think that the Society had any reasons to complain of shortcomings. The Journal appeared regularly, and it was by the Journal that they should take a stand as a learned Society (loud applause).

This closed the meeting.

*Minutes of the Sub-Committee Meeting held on the 17th January,
1916.*

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esqr., M. A., C. I. E., (in the chair).
U May Oung, M. A., LL. B.
U Set, B. A.
Rev. J. F. Smith.
Prof. Maung Tin, M. A., (Honorary Secretary).

1. The minutes of the Sub-Committee Meeting held on the 17th August, 1915, were read and confirmed.
2. It was agreed to hold the Annual General Meeting on February 4th, 1916.
3. It was agreed to read a paper "On Researching" by Mr. J. S. Furnivall at the Annual Meeting.
4. It was resolved to request His Honour Sir Harcourt Butler, Lieut.-Governor of Burma to become the Patron of the Society.
5. It was resolved to ask Mr. Justice Twomey to become the President of the Society and the Hon'ble Mr. Arbuthnot to preside at the Annual General Meeting.
6. The following gentlemen were duly proposed and elected members:—

Dr. Circar, Tengyueh.
Maung Ba Aung, Kyaukpyu.

MAUNG TIN,
Honorary Secretary.

The 11th February, 1916.

Minutes of the Committee Meeting held on February 4th, 1916.

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esqr., M. A., C. I. E., (in the Chair).
Right Rev. Bishop Cardot.
Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Rutledge.
Hon'ble U Phay, A. T. M., K. S. M.
U May Oung, M. A., LL. B.
Prof. Maung Tin, M. A.

1. Read a letter from U Ne Dun proposing that a vote of thanks be conveyed to His Excellency the Viceroy of India, His Honour the Lieut.-Governor of Burma and the Secretary of State for India for the conferring

of C. I. E. on Mr. Hunter and that an expression of loyalty on the part of the members of the Society be conveyed to their Majesties the King Emperor and Queen Empress.

Resolved that a reply be sent to U Ne Dun pointing out the superfluity of such functions on the part of the Society.

2. Read a letter in Burmese from Saya Thein suggesting a careful examination of certain parabeiks in the Chief Secretary's Office with a view to utilising them for the Society's Journal or depositing them at the Bernard Free Library.

Resolved that the matter be referred to the Managing Sub-Committee for decision.

3. Arranged the necessary agenda for the Annual General Meeting.

MAUNG TIN,

The 11th February, 1916.

Honorary Secretary.

CIRCULARS.

The following gentlemen, whose names were circulated among the Sub-Committee members were duly proposed and elected members on 15th February, 1916.

1. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Twomey.
2. Mr. J. J. Nolan, Rangoon Times.
3. Mr. L. F. Taylor, I. E. S.

and on the 1st March, 1916, Father Perroy of Thonze, Maung Ba Han, M. A., Assistant Government Translator; and on the 9th March, 1916, The Very Revd. Father P. St. Guily, Clergy House, Rangoon, and Mr. R. G. MacDowall, I. C. S., were similarly elected members.

MAUNG TIN,

Honorary Secretary.

THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

FOR THE YEAR 1915.

On the 1st January, 1915, up to which date the accounts for the year 1914, were prepared, there was in hand a balance of Rs. 5,911|4.

During the year 1915, there was received a sum of Rs. 2,519|- made up of Rs. 2,249|- as subscriptions from 96 ordinary members, Rs. 150|- as subscription from one life member, Mr. J. L. McCallum, I. C. S., and Rs. 120|- interest on Rs. 3,000|- kept in fixed deposit with the Chartered Bank. The total expenditure during the same period amounted to Rs. 2,257-10-3.

There was then on the 31st December, 1915, a balance of Rs. 6,172-9-9. Details are given below:—

MAUNG SET,

4th February, 1916.

Honorary Treasurer.

ACCOUNTS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY
FOR THE YEAR 1915.

Receipts.				Expenditures.			
<i>January, 1915—</i>				<i>January, 1915—</i>			
	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
Last year's balance ..	5,911	4	0	Clerk's pay for Sept. to			
Subscriptions from 12				December, 1914 ..	120	0	0
members ..	195	0	0	Peon's pay for Sept. to			
				December, 1914 ..	12	0	0
				Calcutta Phototype Coy.			
				for 7 blocks ..	109	14	0
				M. O. Commission ..	1	2	0
				Printing Journals ..	466	8	0
				Wrappers for above ..	8	4	0
				Cooly and Gharry hire..	1	9	0
				Stamps ..	20	0	0
					739	5	0
				Balance in Hand ..	5,366	15	0
Total Rs. ..	6,106	4	0	Total Rs. ..	6,106	4	0
<hr/>				<hr/>			
<i>February, 1915—</i>				<i>February, 1915—</i>			
	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
Last month's balance ..	5,366	15	0	Clerk's pay for January,			
Sub. from 2 members ..	45	0	0	1915 ..	30	0	0
				Peon's pay for January,			
				1915 ..	3	0	0
				Cooly and Gharry hire			
				1915 ..	1	2	0
				Ice, Matches ..	1	0	0
				Telegram to Mr. Swin-			
				hoe of Mandalay ..	1	0	6
				Freight and cooly hire			
				on prints from Cal-			
				cutta ..	1	3	6
					37	6	0
				Balance in Hand ..	5,374	9	0
Total Rs. ..	5,411	15	0	Total Rs. ..	5,411	15	0

ACCOUNTS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY—continued.

Receipts—continued.

March, 1915—	Rs.	A.	P.
Last month's balance..	5,374	9	0
Subscriptions from 28 members ..	690	0	0

Total Rs. .. 6,064 9 0

April, 1915—	Rs.	A.	P.
Last month's balance..	5,827	13	3
Subscriptions from 30 members ..	645	0	0
Subscription from 1 Life member ..	150	0	0

Total Rs. .. 6,622 13 3

May, 1915—	Rs.	A.	P.
Last month's balance..	5,990	9	9
Subscriptions from 10 members ..	254	0	0

Total Rs. .. 6,244 9 9

Expenditures—continued.

March, 1915—	Rs.	A.	P.
Clerk's pay for February, 1915 ..	30	0	0
Peon's pay for February, 1915 ..	3	0	0
250 printed Post Cards..	6	4	0
500 Letter Heads ..	6	8	0
Printing Plates, Journal	131	1	9
Advertisements ..	15	0	0
Refreshments ..	29	14	0
Stamps ..	15	0	0

Balance in Hand .. 236 11 9
5,827 13 3

Total Rs. .. 6,064 9 0

April 1915—	Rs.	A.	P.
Clerk's pay for March	30	0	0
Peon's pay for March	3	0	0
Printing Journals ..	580	11	0
100, Type paper ..	1	7	6
Aerated waters ..	5	11	0
M. O. Commission to Calcutta ..	1	6	0
Stamps ..	10	0	0

Balance in Hand .. 632 3 6
5,990 9 9

Total Rs. .. 6,622 13 3

May, 1915—	Rs.	A.	P.
Clerk's pay for April ..	30	0	0
Peon's pay for April ..	3	0	0
Stamps ..	20	0	0
Gharry hire (Hon. Editor) ..	1	0	0
Advertisement ..	7	8	0
500 Envelopes ..	5	0	0
Binding Journals (Vol. III.) ..	1	4	0

Balance in Hand .. 67 12 0
6,176 13 9

Total Rs. .. 6,244 9 9

ACCOUNTS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY—*continued.*Receipts—*continued.*

<i>June, 1915—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Last month's balance..	6,176	13	9
Subscription from 7 members ..	240	0	0
Interest on Deposit Rs. 3,000/- ..	120	0	0

Total Rs. .. 6,536 13 9

<i>July, 1915—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Last month's balance..	6,255	1	9
Subscriptions from 5 members ..	135	0	0

Total Rs. .. 6,390 1 9

<i>September, 1915—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Balance from July ..	6,356	0	3

Total Rs. .. 6,356 0 3

<i>October, 1915—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Last month's balance..	6,289	0	3

Total Rs. .. 6,289 0 3

Expenditures—*continued.*

<i>June, 1915—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Clerk's pay for May ..	30	0	0
Peon's pay for May ..	3	0	0
Gharry hire Hon. Editor	1	0	0
Printing, Journal ..	246	6	0
One copy of Rangoon Gazette ..	1	0	0
Telegram to Mr. Furnivall	0	6	0

281 12 0
Balance in Hand .. 6,255 1 9

Total Rs. .. 6,536 13 9

<i>July, 1915—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Clerk's pay for June ..	30	0	0
Peon's pay for June ..	3	0	0
Telegram to Mandalay	0	9	6
Gharry hire (Clerk) ..	0	8	0

34 1 6
Balance in Hand .. 6,356 0 3

Total Rs. .. 6,390 1 9

<i>September, 1915—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Clerks pay for July and August ..	60	0	0
Peon's pay for July and August ..	6	0	0
Gharry hire (Clerk) ..	1	0	0

67 0 0
Balance in Hand .. 6,289 0 3

Total Rs. .. 6,356 0 3

<i>October, 1915—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Paid to Hon. Sec. as a permanent advance ..	50	0	0

50 0 0
Balance in Hand .. 6,239 0 3

Total Rs. .. 6,289 0 3

ACCOUNTS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY—*continued*Receipts—*continued.*

<i>November, 1915—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Last month's balance..	6,239	0	3
Subscriptions from 2 members ..	45	0	0
Total Rs. ..	6,284	0	3

Expenditures—*continued.*

<i>November, 1915—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Clerk's pay for September and October ..	60	0	0
Peon's pay for September and October ..	6	0	0
Gharri hire, (Clerk) ..	2	0	0
Ice, Match, Cooly hire ..	1	10	0
Railway fare, peon ..	1	4	0
Stamps ..	15	0	0
Aerated waters ..	4	14	6
	90	12	6
Balance in Hand ..	6,193	3	9
Total Rs. ..	6,284	0	3

<i>December, 1915—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Last month's balance..	6,193	3	9
Total Rs. ..	6,193	3	9

<i>December, 1915—</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Clerk's pay for November ..	30	0	0
Peon's pay for November ..	3	0	0
Postcards ..	6	4	0
One copy Rangoon Gazette ..	0	8	0
Cakes, etc. ..	30	14	0
	70	10	0
Balance in Hand ..	6,122	9	9
Total Rs. ..	6,193	3	9

Balance with the Hon. Treasurer ..	6,122	9	9
Permanent advance with the Hon. Secretary ..	50	0	0
Total Balance Rs. ..	6,172	9	9

MAUNG SET
4-2-1916.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

1. **Journal Asiatique, Onzième Série, Tom IV and V,** Nos. 1, 2 and 3.
2. **Bulletin of the Philippine Library, Vol. IV, No. 3.** November and 1915, December, 1915.
3. **A Mon (Talaing) Thinbongyi,** by W. G. Cooper.
4. **The Indian Antiquary, a journal of oriental research,** July, October and November, 1915.
5. **Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle,** for 1914-15.
6. **Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle,** for the year ending 31st March, 1915.
7. **Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle,** for the year ending 31st March, 1915.
8. **Report of the Maha Bodhi Society,** from 1891 to 1915.
9. **Journal of the East India Association,** January, 1916.
10. **Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar,** 1911.

SOME GLIMPSES OF BURMA IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The history of the first Burmese war gives some insight into life in Burma during that particular period, and we know that under British rule the annexed provinces rapidly settled down and the people became more prosperous than they had ever been before. But beyond some Moulmein Newspapers of the late thirties and early forties of last century, I have never been able to find any records throwing light on life in Burma in the interval between the first and second wars. The other day, however, I came across a little book which does give some glimpse of these early days. It is a missionary biography, a memoir of Dr. Judson's second wife, written by his third wife. It is mainly taken up with missionary work and religious reflections, but, apart from these, it contains a good deal of information on secular matters, and this I have endeavoured to extract as it may prove interesting to some of the present inhabitants of the country. The time referred to is, of course, comparatively modern but the present generation scarcely realise what life in Burma was then, and to some of them at least it may prove interesting to get a glimpse at life in the country then.

The most interesting event described in the book is a revolt in Tavoy in August 1829. The account is not very clear on some points, but the writer had evidently got it from some one who knew the details well. She probably got it from Dr. Judson, who must have often heard it described by his second wife. She had been through it with her first husband, Mr. Boardman. I had some difficulty in fixing the year in which the revolt occurred as that is not mentioned in the chapter describing it. But, as Mrs. Boardman's second child was born in August 1828, and a third child born some months after the revolt, was born in January 1830, there can be no doubt that the August of the revolt was that of 1829. The eldest child had died shortly before the revolt occurred, and the second child was ill at the time. The following is as clear an account as I have been able to extract from the record. If any Administration Report for the year 1829 has survived, it would be interesting to compare its record of the event with that I now give.

Colonel Burney was both civil and military chief at Tavoy, but he was away, doubtless on tour, at the time. There were no British troops in Tavoy, the garrison consisting of about a hundred sepoys. There were a few small field-pieces, but the "Gunner" was ill and the English officer in command of the detachment was known to be on his death-bed. The direction of affairs in this crisis fell on Mrs. Burney and a young doctor. In the middle of the night, the inhabitants of Tavoy were awakened by wild yells, and it was soon ascertained that two hundred men, armed with clubs, dahs, spears and a few muskets, had rushed upon the powder magazine and gun-shed, which were defended by a guard of six sepoys under a native officer. The other sepoys must have come quickly to the assistance of their comrades, as in about an hour, we are told, the insurgents were successfully repulsed and had retreated beyond the walls, leaving sixty of their number dead, and their

leader a prisoner. The sepoys too were in possession of all the city gates. That is the account given in the book, but a few pages further on we are told that the leader was captured some days later, after Colonel Burney's return.

Moreover, all the insurgents were not driven out, as other parties of them were going about the town pillaging, and they had set free a hundred prisoners from the local jail. Still there seems to have been a period of comparative calm, during which Mr. and Mrs. Boardman, with their baby, escaped to Government House where "they were most kindly received by the intrepid lady commander." Mrs. Burney's own baby was only three weeks old, so it was specially hard on her to have to face such a crisis as this. The sepoys behaved splendidly. Their first care was to secure arms and ammunition. Three cannons and a quantity of gunpowder were conveyed to a wooden building on the wharf, and the remainder of the powder was thrown into wells to prevent its falling into the hands of the insurgents. By three o'clock in the afternoon this was accomplished, and the British party then migrated in a body to the wharf, which they hoped to be able to defend. It was manifestly hopeless to attempt to hold the town. The party, we are told, included three Englishmen, but it is not clear who these were. One would be the young doctor; another would be the officer commanding the Garrison, who, hurried from his bed, was mounted on a horse, on which he swayed helplessly, "his face thin and cadaverous, his complexion almost orange in hue, and his eye deeply sunk in its socket." Who the third Englishman was we are not told and can only suppose that he was the "Gunner" above mentioned, who was ill also. There was Mr. Boardman in addition; and his wife and Mrs. Burney were the only ladies. There were a few Portuguese traders and one Mohamadan. Then there were the hundred sepoys and "a handful of English with their troops of Burmese and Hindu servants." One would have liked to have had some more detailed account of this "handful of English." Possibly they were clerks and subordinate officials with their families, but why should they have brought troops of servants? Altogether, three or four hundred people were huddled together in the building on the wharf.

Soon after the refugees had gained the retreat, the insurgents began to fire at the wharf from a *jingal* they had mounted, but, fortunately, their aim was not good. After dark this annoyance ceased but a boat shot underneath and its occupants tried to set the wharf on fire from below. A sepoy, however, detected this, and putting the muzzle of his gun between the planks, he waited until he could cover the boatman and then shot him. A heavy splash followed the report and an empty boat was seen floating away. At daylight firing from the walls was renewed, but the aim of the insurgents was still bad and their ammunition was running low. For five days the refugees held the wharf but on the evening of the fifth day their position seemed desperate. The houses near them were in flames and a band of five hundred men rushed to attack the wharf. The fire of the sepoys, however, drove back their assailants and a drenching shower of rain extinguished the flames. The provisions on the wharf were almost exhausted. It was impossible to convey intelligence to Mergui or Moulmein. The brig lying at anchor was not seaworthy, and a junk, "which had been wrested from a Chinaman," did not help much. We are told that there was no hope of getting it away with a living

man on board. Seeing how bad the aim of the insurgents was, this might have been risked, one would have thought, if three or four of those on the wharf had sufficient seamanship to navigate it. The lack of this was probably the more serious impediment. In any case, there could have been little hope of summoning relief in time by a sailing vessel.

At dawn next morning, however, the hungry and dejected refugees on the wharf were gladdened by seeing the smoke of a steamer and soon Colonel Burney was among them. He promptly put his wife and Mrs. Boardman with their infants on board the steamer and sent it off at once to Moulmein for reinforcements. Several shots were fired at the steamer by the rebels, but, seeing that they had never got the range of the wharf correctly, it was not likely that they would hit a moving steamer. It got away quite untouched. Colonel Burney's next task was to throw up a breastwork, but he soon determined to risk a direct attack on the insurgents. Followed by the sepoys, he was under the walls before the rebels suspected his intention. Just as his head appeared above the wall, a blow sent him reeling, but he kept his footing and was among the first to face the few rebels who had enough courage to resist the assault. The *Jingal* was soon hurled from its position and the other guns were conveyed to the wharf by some Chinese who had hitherto observed a strict neutrality until they were sure which side would win. From this time the revolt seems to have collapsed altogether. It is a remarkable instance of the difference one man may make in such cases, provided, of course, that he is a really capable leader. The sepoys had done well before, but, with Colonel Burney at their head, they soon quelled the rebellion and regained possession of the town. Here we are told that the leader of the revolt, "who boasted royal blood and had built his plans on a broader basis than was at one time suspected," was seized. The writer has evidently forgotten that she had reported his capture before. Probably the man then captured was a minor leader only, and this princeling was the real head of the rebellion. Anyway, he and some of his companions were promptly tried by court-martial and executed. A number of others were sent to prison to await trial in a Civil Court, after which, thirty more of them were executed. Meantime, of course reinforcements had been sent from Moulmein, and we are told that when these arrived at Tavoy they "found those whom they had expected to deliver from an extremity of peril, gaily wearing the laurels which imagination had already twined around their own brows."

Another incident described gives some idea of life in Moulmein in the years immediately after its passing under British rule. Mr. and Mrs. Boardman arrived there in May 1827. The officer commanding the troops advised them to live within the cantonments so as to avoid the dangers they might incur outside, both from wild beasts and lawless men. But they thought this would interfere with their missionary work, so the mission house was built a mile from the cantonments in close proximity to some thick jungle. The danger from wild beasts did not result in anything more unpleasant than dismal howlings at night. The river was near and a row of houses had sprung up near it. Across the river was Burmese territory, which, according to the account given, "having been deserted by its peaceful inhabitants, became to the terrible men who took shelter there, like his own mountain

fastnesses to McGregor. Armed with knives, spears, and sometimes muskets, they rallied forth in parties of twenty or thirty, at nightfall; and then woe to the poor wretch who was suspected of having treasure worth the trouble of a visit. Sometimes even entire villages were destroyed by them, and they once ventured so far as to attack a guard of sepoys. Stealthily they moved, with a tread as light as the Indians of the western world; and when they had secured their booty, the Martaban coast became to them the altar of Jupiter. By touching that they were safe, for it was beyond the jurisdiction of the English; and so they carried on their daring trade with impunity." About a month after the arrival of the Boardmans the dacoits from across the river paid the mission house a visit one night. Fortunately for themselves, the inmates all slept soundly through it, but every article of any value was carried off. The chief loss seems to have been that of clothes, but it is pointed out that this loss can scarcely be appreciated by those in reach of shops, so, apparently, there were none then in Moulmein, at least of those where European wearing apparel could be procured. After this, Sir Archibald Campbell sent a guard of sepoys to protect the mission house at night. But later on, so many houses had sprung up in the neighbourhood that the mission house was no longer isolated and the danger from dacoits was greatly reduced. This change, apparently, took place while the Boardmans were still there. If so, it points to a very rapid growth of Moulmein; as they left in the spring of the following year, 1828, to go to Tavoy.

In reading this book, one is struck by the ever recurring sickness among the European community. It makes one understand how Burma earned the reputation of being a very unhealthy place. We have already seen that at the outbreak of the Tavoy revolt, the officer commanding the troops and the "gunner" were both ill. Mrs. Boardman does not seem to have been naturally delicate or unfitted for life in the tropics. Anyway, during their stay in Calcutta we hear of no illness. As she and her husband left America in July 1825 and did not reach Amherst until April 1827, the stay in Calcutta must have lasted for a year or more; and Calcutta at that time can scarcely have been a very healthy place. One would have thought that Amherst was much better; yet two days after her arrival there, she was attacked by an illness which made her an invalid for years. Again in the spring of 1829, at Tavoy, we hear that she is again seriously ill; her baby "a pale, puny creature" and her husband ill also. The only healthy member of the family was the elder child. They took a trip to Mergui and came back with improved health. But soon afterwards, both children were taken ill; the healthy elder one died, but the puny baby pulled through the illness in spite of the privations and exposure incurred during the revolt. He was the only one of the three Boardman children who grew up. The exposure during the revolt seems to have hastened Mr. Boardman's end as he was a consumptive subject. He died in February 1831.

Even in the present day Europeans in the East have to face separation from their children, but in the early thirties of last century these separations must have been much worse. Communication was slow and dangers at sea were greater. Take the case of little George Boardman. Before her second marriage his mother had come to the conclusion that he must be sent to

America to be educated there, but it was not until after her marriage to Dr. Judson that a suitable opportunity offered. The child must have been barely six years old, but as his mother considered that such an opportunity might not occur again for years she determined to send him. Some missionaries going to Singapore took charge of him as far as that and during a stay of some weeks there, he was still among Missionaries and seems to have had a good time. No doubt every one was kind to the little waif, and we are told that Mrs. Ballister, the wife of the American Consul, became very fond of him and "expressed the greatest astonishment that a child born and thus far bred in an Asiatic country, could have made such progress in mind, manners and morals." It is not clear who took charge of the child on the voyage from Singapore to Boston. Two missionaries, however, took him as far as the ship which was lying fifteen miles away from the town. This journey had to be made in an open boat, and when ten miles away from land and still five miles from the ship, they were attacked by some natives in a boat. Apparently, there was no language in common between the occupants of the two boats as the missionaries at first thought that the men in the other boat were asking for fruit, so some was handed to them by one of the missionaries. The thanks he got was a blow that sent him into the sea. The other missionary soon had a three pronged fish spear through his wrist. Then it appeared that a small box in the boat was the article demanded, so this was handed over and the assailants went away. As it only contained letters and parcels for friends in America they must have been very much disappointed when they came to open it, but they went away without doing this. The missionary who had been knocked into the water was helped back into the boat and the terrified child came out from his hiding place beneath the bench. It certainly was an appalling experience for a child of six years old. Imagine his mother's horror when she heard of it and her thankfulness "that he had not been borne away to some dark haunt of vice and crime, to be bred to the blood trade of the wild Malayan Corsair." He reached the ship, however, in safety and his future sufferings on the voyage probably existed more in the imagination of the author of the book than in reality. She described him as "shrinking, shocked and frightened from the coarse, rude jests, which were intended for his amusement; and regarding the blunt kindness which esteemed itself all-sufficient to make a man of him as the bitterest cruelty."

After the death of her first husband, Mrs. Boardman remained in Tavoy devoting her energies to the superintendence of various schools which had been started there. In a letter written in 1832, she says; "The day schools are entirely supported at present by the Honourable Company's allowance, and the Civil Commissioner, Mr. Maingy (*sic*) appears much interested in their success." Objections seem to have been made shortly afterwards to the Company subsidising proselytising schools and on 24th August, 1833, Mrs. Boardman wrote a long letter to the Commissioner refusing to exclude Christian teaching and giving up the grants. The Commissioner replies as follows;—"I cannot express to you how much your letter has distressed me. It has been a subject of consideration with me, for some months past, how I could best succeed in establishing a college here, the scholars of which

were to have been instructed on the same system you have so successfully pursued." In April 1834 she married Dr. Judson and on her arrival in Moulmein with him, she was asked to take charge of a school which the Commissioner had succeeded in getting established there. How the vexed question of religious instruction was to have been settled, we are not told. In view of her other labours, Mrs. Judson did not see her way to taking charge of the school.

It is a matter of history, of course that, after the first Burmese war the Talaings made a bid for independence and that they surrounded Rangoon. But it is surely incorrect to say, as the author of the little book we are considering, does say that "the English unwittingly gave the death blow to the insurrection." Her account is that the Peguans were in possession of the country; and the Burmese within the besieged town of Rangoon were suffering from lack of food, which could not be conveyed to them while the Peguans held posts along the river. When the English steamer came down the river, however, after the signing of the treaty, "firing was suspended out of respect to the British flag. The Burmans had foreseen this, and despatched boat-loads of provisions to follow in the vessel's wake, plying the oar at night in places where they could do so with safety, while she lay at anchor, and concealing themselves during the day in the windings of the river, as near as they could follow. The *ruse* was successful; the provisions were landed at Rangoon, and the Peguans shortly after raised the siege, and fled to the English provinces for protection." The account of the Burmese boats keeping up with the steamer is not convincing; and if the Talaings were really in possession of the country the relief of Rangoon should not have involved the collapse of their insurrection against Burmese rule. The passage of the British steamer may possibly have helped boats already near Rangoon to get to it; but it is surely quite erroneous to say that this gave the death blow to the insurrection. Had the Talaing attempt had any real chance of ultimate success it would have survived the arrival of some provisions in Rangoon.

The book is mainly interesting as throwing light on life in Tenasserim in the early days after the annexation. There is nothing very new in what it tells us, but personal details help one to realise the life of the time more vividly. It is not necessary to say much more about the subject of the memoir. After her marriage to Dr. Judson she had eight more children and died on shipboard at St. Helena on 1st September, 1845, being then nearly 42 years of age. She was the eldest of a family of thirteen children and had often to remain away from school to help her mother in the house, so she was innured to work for others from her early childhood. During the terms she was thus kept from school, she did her best to educate herself. Except, perhaps, the year or more that she remained in Calcutta on her way to Burma, her subsequent life was full of active work. She assisted Mr. Boardman in his labours and carried them on after his death for some years. After her marriage to Dr. Judson, the births of eight children within ten years must have hindered as active a share in his labours, but she was still keenly interested in the work and ready to do what she could to help. Throughout her whole life in Burma she suffered from bad health, and

there was frequent sickness among her children. She nursed her first husband through his lingering illness, and a few years after her second marriage, Dr. Judson was threatened with the same end. He recovered however, so she was spared a repetition of that trial. Possibly she attempted too much and hastened her own end thereby; but one admires the pluck and enthusiasm which carried her through so much. It was, of course, the first Mrs. Judson who was in Burma before the war broke out, and who endured all the anxiety and hardship involved during Dr. Judson's imprisonment at Ava. Of her we are told that "she had been received in London as an angel-visitant, shone a bright star in the most refined and intellectual circles of Edinburgh, and moved the idol of tender hearts and admiring eyes in her own America." Before the Boardmans arrived at Amherst, however, she "had laid her martyr head beneath the Hopia crowning the green mound which overlooks the ocean." Almost the first labour of Mr. Boardman, on his arrival, was to make a coffin for her child, "the infant first pillowed among her father's chains at Ava."

The following extract from an unsigned Introductory Notice to the book gives some account of its authoress;—"On his return to America in 1846, after laying to rest his beloved partner and companion, the subject of this memoir, on the rocky isle of St. Helena, Dr. Judson sought out Miss Chubbuck, then at Philadelphia for her health, to request the employment of her pen on the narrative of the life's history of Mrs. Judson. His description of the missionary field, his glowing ardour in his Master's cause, . . . deeply affected the warm heart and vivid imagination of Miss Chubbuck, and, laying aside the laurels she had won in her native land, the prospective wreaths which literature held out before her, . . . she consented to unite herself to the apostle of Burma."

Barely seventy years have past since this book was written and less than a century since Mr. and Mrs. Boardman arrived at Amherst. But these years have wrought great changes everywhere, but in no other country, perhaps, have the changes been greater than in Burma. Stable government, enlightened administration and increased facilities of communication have raised greatly the material comfort of the people and have brought them from practical isolation into contact with the main currents of the world's thought. But what strikes one most in reading this book is the change which the years have wrought in the direction of greater simplicity of expression among Europeans. We may be more luxurious in our habits than our grandfathers ever had the chance of being, but in speech at least, we are simpler, more direct and, in some ways perhaps, more modest. We admire, at least as much as they did, any honest attempt to do some good work in the world, but we talk less extravagantly about it. We take it more as a matter of course and think less of laurels in hands and wreaths in prospect. Wider knowledge has given us a truer perspective and we are content to say of any one who has made a good fight in any direction that he has tried to "do his bit."

J. STUART.

A PHILOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE BURMESE LANGUAGE.

1. In my article on Agricultural Chemistry in Burmese, in the last number of this Journal, I threw out some suggestions on the subject of Burmese philology. Since writing that article I have been able to pay only some measure of attention to this interesting and important subject. I have just touched the fringe of a vast field hitherto unexplored. This introductory essay is, therefore, not intended to revolutionise the present ideas, but merely to mark a new path in my own study of the Burmese language. Burmese, like English, is a composite language, since it has not been altogether an isolated tongue.

2. As far back as 1796 A. D. (1158 B. E.) Hle-thin Atwin-wun, that pioneer student of Burmese philology, in his work entitled *Vohāra-linatttha-dīpanī*, (a Treatise on the Hidden Meanings of Common Words) writes:—“Although a language might have been pure at the beginning, no language could remain so, because it was liable in course of time to be mixed up with other languages during the intercourse with different peoples. Thus every language would be a composite one. Intelligent persons would be able to ascertain that Burmese is a good deal mixed up with Pali and Sanscrit. It has been, is being, and will be mixed up with *other* languages. As a rule, pure Burmese is monosyllabic. From the consideration of the characteristics of the native tongue coupled with an experience of other lands we may conclude that there are but very few dissyllabic words. Such words may be pure or hybrid compounds. If not, they are of either Pali or Sanscrit origin.

(1) The following monosyllabic words may be considered pure Burmese, because it is difficult to trace their origin:—

နေလကြယ်၊ မီး၊ မိုး၊ ရွာ၊ အင်း၊ အိုင်၊ မြစ်၊ ချောင်း etc.

Words like အရောင်း၊ အလင်း are really monosyllabic.

(2) The following are either pure or hybrid compounds:—

သစ်ပင်၊ နေပူလ သာမိုးသောက်တူးရှင်းဆင်ရှစ်အရာမိုး etc.

(3) The following are of Pali or Sanskrit origin:—

နတ်၊ သိကြား၊ ဟင်းသား၊ မိတ်၊ သဘော၊ ဥတု၊ ခေတ်၊ ခုတန်း၊ အသွင်၊ မိန့် (diamond) etc.

The Author confined himself to nouns.

Though he included နေ under the first head, he attempted to derive it from the Pali root ‘nī’—‘to lead,’ through ‘netti’—‘eye,’ since the Sun is the ‘eye of the world.’ Further, he derived some of our commonest words from Pali. E. g. ရေ through ရှိ in Arakan, from Pali ‘Vāri’—‘water.’

We may not agree with him in all his derivations. For instance, there appears to be no reason why နေ should not have been derived directly from Pali root ‘nī’—‘to shine’ and ရေ from ‘rī’—‘to flow.’ Nevertheless, great credit was due to him for his early recognition of the fact that some of our words in daily use are Pali in disguise.

3. The next serious paper on Burmese philology is said to be by Captain C. J. F. S. Forbes in 1881. I have not seen it. In 1884 Mr. Hough gave us a few Tibetan words in Burmese. Professor Duroiselle found many of these inconclusive in that they are common to almost all the Indo-Chinese nations and tribes. Mr. Taw Sein Ko, that indefatigable worker in the cause of Burmese philology, followed with a short list of Chinese words in Burma, most of which are of religious significance. In a paper dealing with the general aspect of the subject a detailed examination of his list is out of place. Two examples are, perhaps, sufficient to show that his conclusions are one-sided. The word ဘုရား has taxed the ingenuity of our etymologists. Some would derive it from 'Vara'—'excellent,' and others from 'Bhūri-pañña'—'One who has wisdom which is as massive as the earth,' because the latter is one of the epithets of Gotama. But why should our forefathers have gone out of their way and not derived the word from the best known epithet 'Buddha'? It will be evident from certain examples given in the course of this paper e. g., ပဲ့ from 'bhid'—'to break'—and I shall also be able to show later by inscriptions, archaic words, etc., e. g., သတ္တ (1357) from သဒ္ဓ —that sonants often changed into surds in Burmese and that the Pali rule of changing 'd' into 'r' as in 'terasa' from 'tedasa' has been actually followed in Burmese, e. g. မြ —'a particle' from 'mud'—'to pulverise.' These two rules gave us ရှု of our earliest inscriptions. It should be pronounced *phu-rha* as in Arakan and not *phu-sha* as in Burma proper. Mr. Taw Sein Ko derived this word from the Chinese 'Fu-ya.' He seems to have laid stress on the fact that the Chinese record preceded our earliest inscriptions by some five centuries. But he will find that the contracted form 'phya' had already been indelibly fixed in the title of a Burmese king known to history as Taramunphyu, about half a century before the Chinese date. I am speaking from memory, but it may be verified. Thus both historically and linguistically we may turn the scale and call it a Burmese word in China. Again, our word လှ —'to give or offer' which he derived from the Chinese 'lu' could be derived from Pali root 'hu'—'to give.' In Burmese 'r' is generally euphonically inserted in words with 'h.' e. g.

$\text{ဟိ} = \text{ရိ}$

$\text{အဟိနိ} = \text{အရိနိ}$

$\text{ဟိရိ} = \text{ရိရိ}$

(Note the change of a sonant into a surd in the last example).

And the Pali rule of changing 'r' into 'l' has also been followed in Burmese. e. g. $\text{တရုဒ်} = \text{တလုဒ်}$ and $\text{ရလိ} = \text{လလိ}$

So words of Indian origin might well have been omitted. But if they were excluded, there would be little or no Chinese influence left.

Mr. Taw Sein Ko is now interesting himself in Li-lo and Li-so languages and we earnestly hope his labours in this new field will be crowned with better success.

No doubt, Shan and Talaing scholars will be able to contribute towards the comparative philology of Burmese in the near future.

4. Turning now to the more recent discussions in the pages of this Journal, Mr. Stewart's recognition of tones as a factor in altering the original meaning of a root word is a distinct step in the study of the Burmese language. The only fault of his tone-theory is his invention of a fourth tone. There is no reason why မော့ should form the fourth tone, any more than မော့ should not form the fifth, in the series မို-မို-မို as in the series မော့-မော့-မော့. If it be urged that မော့ forms another series with မော့ and မော့, we would really have ten tones in a longer series.

The lack of distinction between the light and the heavy accent as in ရှပ်ရှပ်-ရှပ် of ancient inscriptions shows that our forefathers were not particular about the light accent. The complete absence of the grave accent called *Visajjani* in many of them shows also that the ancients proceeded to mark their accents by quantity which carries with it, as in Pali, stress (Pali, *Payatana*=force of utterance) rather than by pitch. In the series အ-အ-အ, the greatest stress is on the last which is also the longest in quantity. But the middle has the highest pitch which is checked by the light accent in the first and lowered by the heavy in the third. In the အ-အ-အ series, however, the quantity is the same, but the pitch and stress vary as before. The checked tone is inherent in the finals ဝိ, ဝိ, ဝိ and ဝိ which should be classed with the first in each of Mr. Stewart's series. Thus there are really only three tones in Burmese:—

- (a) the light, acute or checked tone, e. g. မေ့
- (b) the high tone, e. g. မေ; and
- (c) the heavy or grave tone, e. g. မေ့

The fourth tone is, therefore but a fifth wheel in the linguistic coach of Burmese. Anyway, the tonal theory does not go very far. At its best, it is useful only in discovering a few variants of some words. Mr. Stewart himself has not been able to say which of the different forms in the series was the original. From the foregoing remarks about our ancestors the one without any accent, light or grave, was probably the original. But the questions remain—Was the original pure Burmese or not? If not, from what sources were they obtained?

5. Professor Duroiselle pointed out that changes in consonants modify the meanings of roots. But a fatal error would be to assume that roots consisted of a few vowels remaining unaltered. The fact is that changes in both vowels and consonants have not only been a factor in varying the meanings of roots, but have also helped us to get our so-called roots.

6. I have recently put forward my own theory of synonyms that the combined use of them was not so much for rhetorical effect as for intelligibility. That is, an existing word was added merely to explain a later word which was introduced to express either a new idea as in ကြိတ် or an existing idea as in လိပ်လျံ and လှော်လှော်, as already noticed in the earlier paper.

It may be that, when synonyms are severally added to the same word as in လှော် and လှော်လှော်, or to a group of cognate words as in လှော်လှော် and လှော်လှော်, the meaning of the primary or secondary root common to all

combinations is modified to the extent that it takes on the colouring, so to speak, from the synonyms added.

Or it may be that, when the two members of a dissyllabic word came to be regarded as synonymous, there was a tendency to monosyllabification, i. e., to break up into monosyllables, each of which would make a starting point for fresh combinations. For example, သိမ်းဆည်း was originally a dissyllabic word, written သိနိဓေညံ in 1442 A. D., from Pali Sañcaya. Then သိမ်း, which was from the mere prefix 'sarn,' came to be regarded as synonymous with ဆည်း from the the root 'ci.' That is, we got two verbs သိမ်းသည့် and ဆည်းသည့်, each of which was then modified by combination with other synonyms as follows:—

သိမ်းပိုက်	ဆည်းကပ်
သိမ်းရုံး	ဆည်းဝှား
သိမ်းကျုံး	ဆည်းပေါင်း
သိမ်းရ	ဆည်းရ

Other examples of monosyllabification will be noticed in the course of this paper.

7. My theory of synonyms may put us on the right track to the discovery of true roots. Its value may be gauged from the following examples:—

ကြီးပွား
ကြီးကပ် or ကြီးရိုး
ကြီးကျယ်

The man in the street would say that ကြီး in all these instances is that same word which we have now familiarly come to understand as meaning 'big,' 'large' or 'great.' Moreover he would have no hesitation whatsoever in assuming it to be a pure Burmese word because it is monosyllabic. But, on my theory, the synonym ပွား—'to increase' would lead me to derive ကြီး in the first example, analogously as စီး in စီးပွား, from the Pali root 'ci'—'to accumulate,' for, in Burmese gutturals and palatals often interchanged. e. g. ချက်ခြယ် (1107 A. D.) = ချက်ခီး

The synonym ရိုး—'to rule' would lead me to derive ကြီး and its variant ကပ် in the second example from the Pali root 'khi—' to rule,' while the synonym ကျယ်—'to be wide,' which is also a variant of ကြီး, would lead me to derive both ကြီး and ကျယ် in the third example from the Pali root 'kir—' to scatter,' 'spread' or 'extend'; hence, 'to be extensive.'

One more example of the use of synonyms. There has been a confusion between ဆဓဉ္ဇ—'illegally' and အားထာဓ (pron. အာဓ) —'forcibly,' because might is not always right. When the German hordes overran and outraged Belgium with brutal force, the former expression would be applicable. But when the Allies, who 'fight for right,' used similar physical force to hurl back the Huns from the Marne and defeat them at Verdun, the latter expression would be more suitable. Force is not incompatible with law. A person in self-defence may lawfully use force and it is the duty of a policeman to apprehend, by force, a dangerous criminal who resists arrest.

In the last mentioned case we can use the expression အတင်းအားထာမာသိသည့် but not အတင်းအဓမ္မ*.

The expression အတင်း—'by force,' itself is but a corruption of အားထာမာ ထာမာ is a Pali word for 'strength' to which အား, also meaning 'strength,' was added, according to my theory, as a synonym merely to make clearer what the elusive ထာမာ meant.

8. Burmese was indebted to Sanscrit for some such words as the following before it came into contact with Pali:—

- သိကြား—Sikra.
- သမုဒ္ဒရာ—Samuddra.
- သတ္တဝါ—Satva.
- အမ္ရိတ်—Amrita.
- နက်သတ်—Nakshastras.
- သက်သေ—Sakshī.
- ပြား—(Prefix) 'pra.'

The last example is useful in showing that we drew upon even a prefix for our verb ပြားသည့် and adjective ပြားသော and noun အပြား or the adverbial expression အပြားအားဖြင့်, as we got သိမ်း from the Pali prefix 'sam.' This is countenanced by the fact that at one stage of the development of our language, ပြော was rendered into Burmese by မိတ်ပြား which has since become archaic.

Some of our words have a double form e. g.

- မြန် = မိန်
- မြည် = မည်
- မြန်စွမ်း = မိန်စွမ်း

It is probable that in many cases words with 'r' were derived from Sanscrit and those without it, from Pali.

9. In passing we may indicate a few other sources from which accretions have taken place. The Burmese passenger calls the Chief Officer of a ship ဗာလီန် in Bengalee. The Bengalee ပစ္စာ (a lease) is in the possession of the Burman cultivator. The shopkeeper often has recourse to the Hindustani နမူနာ (a sample). Our traders now transport their paddy in the Malay တုံကင်း ('junk' for 'cargo boat' introduced by the Chinaman.) The Malay ငြိတ် (a creese or dirk) is probably used in some parts of the Tenasserim Division, though not appropriated in the rest of Burma. The Portuguese လေလံ (leilão=auction) is in vogue. The Japanese ငှက်ခွား (jinrickshaw) is current in the Rangoon streets. On the darker side, the average Burmans have not failed to exploit the Arabic အရက် (arrack) and ဆေးရည်သရက် (syrup or sharab), while the lower classes freely imbibe the Chinese ရှပ်ရှူး (samshu) and some of them take to the Indian အိန်း (Pali aphena) or the Persian တင်း (bhang).

* A third homonym might be noted. viz. အဓမ္မ—adhama (from *adho*, low + *ma*, superlative suffix). A person is adhama when his character is of the *lowest* type; he is adhamma (from *a*, not + dhamma, religion) when his acts go against the religion. Adhama is the opposite of *uttama the best*; (see Dhammapada 78). Adhamma is the negative of dhamma, religion.—*Editor.*

10. The language is still growing and will continue to grow. A few examples from English will suffice to show its modern growth.—

သတ္တလင်	—‘thick cloth’ (not ‘scarlet’ as popularly derived).
ဂါဝ်	—gown.
ဥတ္တရသင်္ဂဟ	—book.
ကလင်	—club.
ဗလီ	—billiard.
ဘဏ်	—bank.

Now, local Pali scholars have dervied ကလင် from Pali ‘kalāpa’—‘a group’ and ဘဏ် from ‘bhaṇḍā’—‘wealth,’ not by direct descent but, by ascent. This brings us to the subject of comparative philology.

The following examples will remind readers that Pali brings us a step nearer to our English rulers:—

BURMESE.	PALI.	ENGLISH.
အန်	√vām.	vomit.
ကြည်	√kīl	clear.
ကြိတ်-ချေ	√khip	crush.
ခုတ်-ခွပ် (Arak.)	√kuṭ	cut, chop, chap.
ခေါ်	{ √khu, to make a sound or √kus, to call	call.
စက်ဆုပ်	jigucchati	disgust.
ခုတ်	√cubī	suck, (ab)sorb.
စောင်း	√gund, to wrap	gown, cf. ချုံ—to wrap up.
ညဉ့်-ည	nisā	night.
တင်း	√tūṇ	tense.
တန်း	√tant	(ex) tend.
တိုက်	√tik	(at) tack.
တိ	√ti or tiyati, to cut	tear.
ထင်	√sam	think, seem.
ထိုး	√tuḍ, to break	thrust.
နာမည်	√nām	name.
နီး-(အ)နား	pref-ni or √nid	near, nigh.
နှုတ်	mukkha or √muj	mouth.
ပိ-ပိ-ချပ်-ပြား-ပြင်	√pīl	press, flat.
ပဲ့-ပဲ့-ဖြဲ	√bhīd	break, breach, bit, piece.
ပုတ်	√pūti	putrid.
ပေါလော	√plu	float, flow.
ပေါက်-ပေါက်	√buj	bore, (per)forate, poke pore.
မြက်	√phar	bright, flash, blaze, flare, flame.
ပြည့်-ဖြိုး	pūreti, √pūr-to fill	fill, full? profuse.

ဖြတ်-ဖြတ်	✓pal or ✓phal, to cut	pare.
ဖြတ်	✓palus, to burn	boil, broil, parch.
မြ- as in arch.	✓phuṭ	bud, sprout.
မြပေး-ခုခပ် (arch.)		
မြီး-ပူး-ပွင့်	✓phull	flower, blow, bloom, blossom.
ဖေါ့ဖော့	✓phuṭ, to swell	? bloated.
ဘေး-ဘယ-ဘိယံ (arch.)	✓bhī	fear, woe, foe.
ဖြာ-ဖြန့်-ဖြန့်	✓phar or pharaṇa	spread, spray, sprinkle.
(တောင်)မြို့	✓muddhā, top	mound.
မြီး	✓mud	muse, amuse.
မြောက်	moda	mirth.
မှတ်	✓makh, to smear	mark.
မွေးမှတ်	missayati, or ✓miss	mix.
ရစ်ပတ်	✓lip, to be entangled	wrap.
ရေးမြစ်	✓likh	write, scribe, scribble.
ရှိ	syati	sharp.
ရှက်-ရှိမ်းမြေ့	✓hrī or ✓hirī	shame, shameful.
ဝ	✓vaḍḍh	fat, wax.
ဝတ်	✓vas	wear, vest.
ဝှေ့-ဝှေ့-ဝဲ	✓vaṭṭ	(ad) vert, whirl, whirlpool.
ဝေး	pref. vi or ✓vis	far.
(အ)သံ	✓san	sound, sonant.
သကာ-သကြား	sakkhara	saccharine, sugar.
လျှော်	✓lih	lick, lap.
ဟစ်	✓hikk (onomatopæic)	hiccough, hiccup.
ဟန်	✓han	sham.
ဟောင်	✓u, to make a noise	howl, ? whine.

More examples may be looked for. But the above list is sufficient to show that these examples cannot possibly be due to mere accidental coincidences between a Mongolian tongue and an Aryan language without the mediation of Pali (or Sanscrit) as a common source from which corresponding words were drawn.

II. It is remarkable that our word ဖြတ် should correspond to Swedish *crysta* or Danish *cryste*. Pali 'tuḍ' is more akin to Latin *trudo* than to English 'thrust.' ထင် is akin to Old Latin *tongere*—'to know,' but like English 'think,' it also means to 'seem' as when we say ထင်မြင်ဆင်. From အနီး we got our အနား because, 'i' became 'e,' which, in turn, changed into 'āya' as in Pali 'jhāyati' from root 'jhe.' Here again, it is equally remarkable that our အနား should have a counterpart in Old Saxon and Old High German *nāh* and Icelandic *nā*. The English word 'bore' is nearer to Pali 'buj,' but the Latin *foro* or *forare* is nearer to our ဖောက်. Our word ဖြန့်

for 'sprinkle' is nearer to Low German *spreen*. Compare မြှော် with Old English *murthe*.

We can easily derive our modern ရှက် from Pali 'hirayati,' because the Pali rule of changing 'y' into 'k' as in 'nipaka' from 'nipaya' has been actually followed in Burmese. E.g. We have archaic နရက် from 'naraka' while we have နေ from 'niraya.' Cf.

ခက် from ခဲ
နက် " နဲ
ကြက် " ကြဲ

But how the nasal came to be inserted in the archaic ရှိး so as to resemble the English word 'shame' is more than I can say at present. But compare ဘိန်း from ဘီး - 'a wheel.'

Further, it will be noticed that the English word 'wear' is more akin to our ဝတ် as Latin *vestire* is to Pali 'vas.'

But it is curious that our ဝေ is nearer to Dutch *ver* than to Old English *fer*.

This is a subject which, I believe, even European etymologists have approached with caution. But as it is sufficiently interesting to show the linguistic relationship between rulers and ruled, I have, with great diffidence, ventured to step into the province of English philologists. I am, however, incompetent to claim any responsibility for the derivation of most of the English words given in the list which is merely suggestive. It is for European philologists to investigate for themselves and decide whether the present dictionary derivations of words in their languages can or cannot be pushed further back to that fountain-head of all Aryan languages, namely, Pali or Sanscrit.

12. Since writing the preceding paragraph, the following further examples have occurred to me:—

BURMESE.	PALI.	ENGLISH.
ကျည့်လောင်း၊ စီလောင်း၊ စီကျက်၊စီကျက်	✓ <i>ke</i> , to produce sound	screech, scream, shrill, scream, squeak, chirp, chirrup.
ကြိတ်	<i>sināti</i> , to bind	cane.
ခံ	✓ <i>sam</i> -to experiment	sample.
စပ် (to strain).	✓ <i>sik</i> , to pour	sift.
စီး	✓ <i>ci</i> or ✓ <i>si</i> , to bind	siege.
စီ (a peg) -ချီ	<i>sūci</i> , a needle, bolt	(bar-) shot, shut, choke, close.
စိုက်	✓ <i>cup</i> , to plant	sow.
စွန်းထင်း	✓ <i>son</i> , to be reddened	stain.
ဆန်း	✓ <i>cand</i>	shine.
ဆီး-သေး	✓ <i>sik</i> , to pour	sig.
ဆွေ	✓ <i>dam</i> , to tame	tame.
ဆို	<i>civeti</i> , ✓ <i>civ</i> , to say	say, saw.
နှာ	<i>nāsa</i>	nose.

ပေး	✓ <u>pis</u> , to give	pay.
ပဲ	? <u>bīja</u> , a seed	pea, bean.
ဘိတ်	✓ <u>bhikkh</u> , to ask	bid, invite.
သွား	✓ <u>bhū</u> , to be	bear, birth.
မြောက်-မြစ်အောက် (arch).	<u>ni</u> + <u>uttara</u>	North.
မှတ်	<u>makkhikā</u> , <u>masaka</u> , <u>makasa</u>	gnat, mosquito, midge.
ရွှေ-ရွှေ	✓ <u>ru</u> or ✓ <u>cu</u> , <u>cavati</u>	shift, shove, N. B. <u>c=r</u> . Cf. <u>icu=iru</u> .
ရှာ	? ✓ <u>hā</u> , to go	search.
ရှု	✓ <u>lok</u> , to look	look, see.
ရှောင်	✓ <u>yong</u> , to shun	shun, shunt.
ရှိုက်	✓ <u>hikk</u> (Onomatopoeic)	sigh.
လင့်	✓ <u>lamb</u> , to be long	linger, long.
လည်း	✓ <u>li</u> , to be attached	lie, lill.
လျောင်း	{ ✓ <u>lāl</u> , to loll or ✓ <u>lamb</u> , to lean,	lounge, loll, lean, recline.
လမ်း	✓ <u>lang</u> , to go	lane.
လု	✓ <u>lup</u> , to rob,	rob, loot.
လိမ်	✓ <u>lambh</u> , to deceive	lie.
လွတ်-လွတ်	✓ <u>luṭh</u> , to move about	loose, let.
လေး-လိမ်	✓ <u>si</u> or <u>sinoti</u> , to sharpen, lesson	thin.
သွား	✓ <u>chu</u> , to cut	?tooth, chew.
ဟိန်း-ရှိုက်	<u>hinoti</u> , ✓ <u>hi</u> , to be hot	heat, hot. Cf. အတ်-အင်း, အိုက်.

Some of the roots or words given in the middle column are tentative. I am aware that Professor August Fick of Breslau derived some of the words in this and the previous table quite differently. For instance, he derived 'loose' from 'lū'—to cut. But our words rather suggest my derivation. There will be a time to discuss these tables. But for the present, I must content myself with a few observations. The remarkable agreement between our သီး and Provincial English 'sig' for 'urine' is, I think, a strong incentive to further inquiry and research in comparative philology. Again, our လင့် is nearer to the form *lang* than to 'long,' but our လိမ် has its equivalent in Old English *lien*. From these instances of strange coincidence between two widely different tongues, we would respectfully urge European comparative philologists to push their investigations further and compare the Aryan words with the Mongolian, etc., for, it is a matter for serious thought whether there was but one human race before the Tower of Babel brought about the present confusion of different tongues.

13. Subjoined is yet another table which provides food for more thought:—

BURMESE.	PALI.	ENGLISH.
အယွယ် (now writ. အရွယ်) āyu		age.
ခရား-ကရား	✓khar, to pour	jar, jug.
ကု	✓kit, to cure	cure.
ကူး(သန်း)	✓khur, to cut	cross.
ကုတ်-ကွေ့-ကောက်-ကော့	✓kut, to bend	curve, curl, crooked, cope, cog.
ကြက်ခြေ	✓khur, to cut	cross, crux.
ကြွေး-ကြွေ	✓kur, to make noise	cry, crow, creak, croak.
ခိုက်ဆည်း (archa.) to pick a quarrel }	✓khusi, to abuse	curse.
ခွါ	✓khur, to cut	?hoof.
ခွေး	✓sid, Sansc. svid, to exude	sweat.
(ဝက်)ဘီး	✓pil, to revolve	wheel.
(ဆွေ)ဆက်	✓sap, to connect	sib.
စွပ်	✓tup, to strike	tap, dab, dub.
သွန်	✓sun, to produce sound	dun, din.
ထိပ်	✓thūp, to raise	tip.
ထောင့်	✓thūp, to raise	tall, tower, thole.
ထွတ်-ထွန်	✓thūp, to raise	top,
ထိုင်း	✓thim, to be moist	damp, drench, cfd. tingo.
သွန်း	✓tunj, to shine	twinkle.
ခွာဝ်	✓dhar, to conduct or carry	draw, drag.
(နှင်း)နယ်	✓madd,	knead.
ပို့-ပိုး	✓pu, to reach,	port, porter.
	✓putt, to go	
ချော်	✓bhū, to enjoy or poto, a child, from ✓pu, to go	sport, frolic, play.
များ-မြတ်	✓mah, mahatta, mahatī, great	much, might, mighty.
(ငယ်)ယွယ် (now ရွယ်)	yuvā, yuvāno	youth, young, juvenile.
ရဲ	rudhira, blood	red, ruddy.
လိမ်း	limpati, to smear	lime.
လျှပ်	✓laugh, laghu, lahu	light (L. levis).
လျှို as in ဆစ်လျှိုသွား or ချုပ်	✓siv, to sew,	sew.
ဆွေ	✓siv, to be dry,	sere, sear.

I do not claim acceptance of all the words compared. For instance, ဆွေ was apparently derived from ✓siv, whereas 'sere' and 'sear' might

have been derived from $\sqrt{\text{silis}}$, 'to burn.' But I have compared them, because Prof. Fick showed their connection with Sanscrit *Sush* 'to be dry.' ခဲး is nearer to Anglo-Saxon *lim*, 'to glue' in form, but to Latin *linere*, 'to smear' in meaning. ခဲး as in ခဲးခဲး has the same meaning as Latin *portare*, 'to carry.' Compare ခဲး with Latin *tollo*, 'to raise.' Prof. Fick connected 'wheel' with Sanscrit *cakra*. The Pali form gave us ခဲး but not ခဲး which corresponds to 'wheel.' I, therefore, suggest $\sqrt{\text{pil}}$. Ingan Sadaw explains this root by 'vattati' which may be a variant of *vattati*, 'to revolve.'

One more word on these three tables. I could have easily combined them into one long table and recast my notes. But I have preferred to leave them as they were originally drafted, because the present unmethodical arrangement has the peculiar advantage of showing the actual progress in my study and that I am not presenting finished products of a mature study.

14. Pali's claim to the lion's share of foreign contribution to our language must be admitted. Yet even Burmese scholars of note often content themselves with a stock list of a few most obvious loan-words. The Hon'ble U Pe's short list on page 106, Vol. IV, Part II of this Journal is an example. It is disappointing in that even such words were not selected with a degree of care in order to illustrate some vowel or consonantal changes effected in, and by, the process of transfer. E. g. ခဲး from Pali 'makuta' is obvious enough. But it would be useful in showing that our forefathers were influenced by 'i' in the root 'maki'—'to adorn.'

European scholars, on the other hand, are apt to laugh away even genuine derivations of words from Pali as fanciful. If I were to derive ခဲး from 'steam-boat,' it would be popular etymology, though I should not be very far wrong in deriving 'boat' from Pali 'pota,' 'a boat.' But when I derived our word from the corresponding Pali 'Sampota'—'a ship,' our etymologists would simply say:—

First, change the Niggahita into the nasal ñ;

Next, change the surd 'p' into the sonant 'b'; and

Then, elide the final syllable 'ta.'

If they did not support these rules with other examples, it was certainly for no lack of materials but merely for want of methods.

On the other hand, the method hitherto adopted by European critics in such matters was to introduce an arbitrary example and then go through all sorts of manipulations of vowels and consonants, or linguistic contortions, if I may use such an expression. This, of course, is a delightful example of mockery but not criticism.

The sooner such critics discard their deep-rooted prejudices against deriving monosyllabic Burmese, or supposed, to be Burmese, words from Pali, the better for the science of Burmese philology; for, we cannot speak a sentence of pure Burmese without a mixture of some Pali in Burmese disguise. This is saying a great deal. But my estimate is that not less than fifty per cent of our common words are of Pali origin. There is a vast mass of materials but the difficulty is the form in which they should be presented to the public. Perhaps the best way would be to compile a fairly compre-

hensive vocabulary. Even then before the publication of such a vocabulary it would be necessary to frame a set of rules to explain the changes in, and insertions and elisions of, vowels and consonants involved in the process of derivation. Even with such rules, at the present stage of Burmese philology, there will remain some doubtful etymology which will not be altogether free from controversy.

But nobody will quarrel with me in the derivation of the following common words from Pali:—

- ခံ, to surfeit from \sqrt{i} , to be satisfied.
- ခဲ, to be hard from \sqrt{khe} , to be hard.
- ဆာ, to be hungry from $\sqrt{chā}$, to be hungry.
- တမ်း, to long for from \sqrt{tam} , to desire.
- တိ, to cut off the ends evenly from \sqrt{ti} , to cut.
- တွဲ, to nibble, as fishes at the bait, from \sqrt{tup} , to strike.
- သာ, to be pleasant from $\sqrt{sā}$, to be pleasant.

15. Changes involved in the derivation of the following words will, in point of phonetic complication, compare favourably with those involved in the etymologies of an English Dictionary:—

- အူ, to howl, from \sqrt{u} , to make noise. Var. အေဝ်, to shout.
- အိပ်, to sleep, from \sqrt{il} , to sleep.
- အိ, to creak, from \sqrt{ir} , to speak.
- အနံ့, to be tainted with rottenness, from $\sqrt{ūn}$, to deteriorate. Der. အ
- အော့, to belch up, from \sqrt{op} , to spit.
- ကစား, to play, from \sqrt{kudd} , to play.
- ကင်, to broil, from \sqrt{kanth} , to dry.
- ကန်း, to be blind, from \sqrt{kan} , to be blind of one eye.
- ကပ်, to be dry, from \sqrt{kath} , to be dry, as in ခြောက်ကပ်
- ကပ်, to tickle, from \sqrt{kil} or \sqrt{kil} , to amuse. Var. ကလေး, to be childish.
- ကုတ်, to bend, from $\sqrt{kuṭ}$, to bend.
- ကုန်း, to stoop, from $\sqrt{kuñc}$, to bend.
- ကိုး, to string, from \sqrt{gumph} , to string, as in a garland or rosary.
- ကောက်, to be crooked, from $\sqrt{kuṭ}$ —to bend. Var. ကွေ့-ကော့. Cf. curve.
- ကျ, to fall, from \sqrt{gir} , to fall.
- ကျက်, to be cooked, from \sqrt{kath} , to be cooked.
- ကျပ်, to be loud, from \sqrt{ke} , to produce sound. Var. ကျပ် as in ကျပ်သံ—
to shrill.
- ကျန်း, to be healthy, from kalla, healthy,
- ကျုံ့, to shrink, from $\sqrt{kūṇ}$, to shrink.
- ကြောက်, to fear, from \sqrt{kalav} , to fear. Cf. ခေါက် (1380) = ခြောက်
- ကြို, to boil, from $\sqrt{kuṭ}$, to burn.
- ခပ်, to pull, as the oars, from \sqrt{kaddh} , to pull.
- ခန်း, to be dried up, from \sqrt{khand} , to cause to be dried up, as in ခြောက်ခန်း

- ခင်, to love, from $\sqrt{\text{kañkh}}$, to desire, or $\sqrt{\text{kan}}$, to be pleased, or $\sqrt{\text{jan}}$, to beget. Cf. kin, kind.
- ခံ, to bear, from $\sqrt{\text{kambh}}$, to support.
- ခုန်, to jump, from $\sqrt{\text{khund}}$, to jump about.
- ခဲ, to solidify, from $\sqrt{\text{khil}}$, to be hard.
- ခဲ, to eat, from $\sqrt{\text{khe}}$, $\sqrt{\text{kheḍ}}$, $\sqrt{\text{khet}}$, to eat. Cf. cud, quid.
- ခိုက်, to hit, from $\sqrt{\text{khid}}$, to strike, as in ခိုက်ခိုက်
- ချီ, to lift or raise, from $\sqrt{\text{kip}}$, to throw up. Cf. heave.
- ချော်, to slip, from $\sqrt{\text{khot}}$, to slip.
- ခပ်, to be hot or pungent, from $\sqrt{\text{jhap}}$, to burn.
- ခမ်း, to experiment, from $\sqrt{\text{sam}}$, to investigate.
- စား, to eat, from $\sqrt{\text{cas}}$ or $\sqrt{\text{car}}$, to eat.
- ခုတ်, to be torn or rent, from $\sqrt{\text{cut}}$, to be cut.
- ခု, to inquire, from $\sqrt{\text{cud}}$, to inquire, as in ခုခမ်း
- စေ, to send, from $\sqrt{\text{cit}}$, to send.
- စော, to be early, from $\sqrt{\text{ju}}$, to be quick.
- စေ့, to smell, from $\sqrt{\text{ku}}$, to smell.
- စို, to be wet, from $\sqrt{\text{suc}}$, to be wet. Var. စွတ်. Cf. soak.
- စိုး, to rule, from $\sqrt{\text{su}}$, to rule. Cf. sway.
- စိုး, to be anxious, from $\sqrt{\text{suc}}$, to be anxious.
- စွန့်, to abandon, or risk, from $\sqrt{\text{juñg}}$, to abandon or risk. Cf. chance.
- ဆင်, to adorn, from $\sqrt{\text{san}}$, to adorn.
- ဆင်, to seem, from $\sqrt{\text{sam}}$, to seem.
- ဆစ်, to cut, from $\sqrt{\text{chid}}$, to cut. Cf. chip.
- ဆတ်, to be brittle, from $\sqrt{\text{ched}}$, to cut.
- ဆန်း, to wax, as the Moon, from $\sqrt{\text{cand}}$, to shine.
- ဆုတ်, to tear, from $\sqrt{\text{chuṭ}}$, to cut.
- ဆုတ်, to step back, from $\sqrt{\text{kuc}}$, to step back.
- ဆုတ်, to clinch, to squeeze, as in shampooing, from $\sqrt{\text{chup}}$, to touch.
- ဆူ, to boil, from $\sqrt{\text{cūr}}$, to burn. Cf. seethe.
- ဆေး, to wash, from $\sqrt{\text{sid}}$, to wash.
- ဆောင်, to carry, from pref. sam , 'to be with' (by monosyllabification of ဆောင်ရွက် from $\text{Sam} \sqrt{\text{har}}$, to carry).
- ဆိုး, to be bad, from $\sqrt{\text{sav}}$, to be decomposed. Cf. ဆိုးဝါး and ဆွဲ. Var. ဆိုး, to be rancid or stale.
- ဆွ, to stir up, from $\sqrt{\text{su}}$, to stir up.
- ဆွတ်, to pluck, from $\sqrt{\text{chuṭ}}$, to cut.
- ဆွန့်, to be scarce, from $\sqrt{\text{kufic}}$, to become less.
- ဆွတ်, to be smooth, fine, from $\sqrt{\text{madd}}$ or $\sqrt{\text{mac}}$, to be reduced to a fine powder.
- ညှစ်, to be dirty, from $\sqrt{\text{majj}}$, to require cleaning.

- ညှိ, to be noisy, from $\sqrt{\text{man}}$, to be noisy.
 ညှိ, to be inferior, from $\sqrt{\text{mand}}$, to be inferior. Cf. mean.
 ညှိ, to be caught as by fire, from $\sqrt{\text{mil}}$, to be entangled. Cf. ညှိ, to be entangled and ခံ, to catch. Cf. ignite.
 ညှိ, to be considerate, from $\sqrt{\text{mā}}$, to compare.
 ညှိ, to be blue-black, brown from nilo, 'blue-black.' Cf. ညှိ, black and ညှိ, indigo.
 တ-တ, to long for, from $\sqrt{\text{tas}}$, to long for.
 တတိ, to ascend, from $\sqrt{\text{tat}}$, to be perpendicularly high. Cf. မတတိ
 တတိ, to raise, from $\sqrt{\text{tant}}$, to carry up.
 တတိ, to be comely, graceful or elegant, from $\sqrt{\text{tam}}$, to adorn or from $\sqrt{\text{sant}}$, to be comely or suitable.
 တတိ, to remain in position, to establish, from $\sqrt{\text{tal}}$, to stay. Or is တတိ from titthati ?
 တတိ, to be able, from $\sqrt{\text{satt}}$, to be able, as in တတိ or တတိ. Cf. tact.
 တတိ, to stop, from $\sqrt{\text{tal}}$, to stay. Cf. stand from (?) thā .
 တတိ, to desire, from $\sqrt{\text{tas}}$, to desire.
 တတိ, to prevent, from $\sqrt{\text{tās}}$, to prevent. Cf. deter, retard.
 တတိ, to beat, as a drum, from $\sqrt{\text{dhis}}$, to produce sound.
 တတိ, to imitate, from $\sqrt{\text{tūl}}$, to compare.
 တတိ, to sting, from $\sqrt{\text{tup}}$, to strike or $\sqrt{\text{tud}}$, to break.
 တတိ, to be equal, from $\sqrt{\text{tūl}}$, to compare.
 တတိ, to dig, from $\sqrt{\text{tud}}$, to break.
 တတိ, to ask for, from $\sqrt{\text{dhan}}$, to ask for.
 တတိ, to increase, from $\sqrt{\text{du}}$, to increase.
 တတိ, to crow, low or bellow, from $\sqrt{\text{sun}}$, to produce sound.
 တတိ, to shrink, from $\sqrt{\text{tūn}}$, to shrink.
 တတိ, to rise or stand, from $\sqrt{\text{thā}}$, to stand.
 တတိ, to be enraged or violent, from $\sqrt{\text{thambh}}$, to be enraged or violent.
 တတိ, to carry, from $\sqrt{\text{thambh}}$, to support or $\sqrt{\text{tant}}$, to carry.
 တတိ, to keep, from $\sqrt{\text{dhā}}$, to keep.
 တတိ, to raise or erect, from $\sqrt{\text{thūp}}$, to raise or erect.
 တတိ, to be slow, from thina , sluggish.
 တတိ, to be damp, from $\sqrt{\text{thim}}$, to be wet. Cf. damp, drench.
 တတိ, to shine, from $\sqrt{\text{tūñj}}$, to shine. Cf. twinkle.
 တတိ, to be soft or delicate, from $\sqrt{\text{mud}}$, to be reducible to powder.
 တတိ, to mix, from $\sqrt{\text{mud}}$, to mix.
 တတိ, to bind, from $\sqrt{\text{nandh}}$, to bind.
 တတိ, to shine, from $\sqrt{\text{bhā}}$, to shine.
 တတိ, to throw, from $\sqrt{\text{path}}$, to throw. Cf. pelt.
 တတိ, to wrap, from $\sqrt{\text{pat}}$, to wrap round. Cf. ခတ်

- ခုတ်, to strike, from $\sqrt{\text{put}}$, to strike.
 ခုံ, to heap, from $\sqrt{\text{pūn}}$, to heap.
 ခု, to be hot, from $\sqrt{\text{pus}}$, to burn.
 ခူး, to join, from $\sqrt{\text{put}}$, to join.
 ချက်, to be destroyed, from $\sqrt{\text{byay}}$, to be damaged or $\sqrt{\text{phal}}$, to be destroyed.
 Cf. perish.
 ဖြဲ, to show, from $\sqrt{\text{bal}}$, to show. Cf. splay, display.
 ဖြတ်, to be severed, from $\sqrt{\text{palul}}$, to cut.
 ဖြေ, to be settled, from pāreti , to finish. Var. ဖြဲ which cf. with complete.
 ဖြေး, to run, from $\sqrt{\text{palāy}}$, to run away.
 ဖြော, to speak, from $\sqrt{\text{brū}}$, to speak. Cf. prate.
 ခုတ်, to roast, from $\sqrt{\text{pus}}$, to burn.
 ဖြစ်, to be, from $\sqrt{\text{phal}}$, to take effect, to fruit. Cf. affect, effect.
 ဘတ်, to arrest, from $\sqrt{\text{bandh}}$, to bind.
 မ, to assist, from $\sqrt{\text{mā}}$, to favour.
 မား, to be large, from $\sqrt{\text{mah}}$, to be large, as in မြီးမား
 မူး, to be giddy, from $\sqrt{\text{mucch}}$, or $\sqrt{\text{muhū}}$, to be stunned.
 မေ့, to forget, from $\sqrt{\text{med}}$ or $\sqrt{\text{met}}$ or $\sqrt{\text{mad}}$, to forget, to be mad.
 မောက်, to be elevated, from muddhā , head or top. Cf. မို
 မောင်း, to drive away, from $\sqrt{\text{munth}}$, to run away. Cf. မှီ
 ဖြဲ, to be permanent, from $\sqrt{\text{nit}}$, to be permanent.
 မြန်, to be quick, from $\sqrt{\text{mañgh}}$, to be quick.
 ခန့်, to be ripe, to mature, from $\sqrt{\text{randh}}$, to cook. Cf. rank, runkle.
 မှီ, to be present, from $\sqrt{\text{hi}}$, to be. Cf. has, have.
 မင်း, to shine, from $\sqrt{\text{lañj}}$, to shine. Cf. lunar, illumine, lamp, lantern.
 လည်, to go about, from $\sqrt{\text{lay}}$, to go. Cf. လား
 လျှင်, to be quick, from $\sqrt{\text{lañgh}}$, to be light, active.
 လှေ့, to parch, as peas, from $\sqrt{\text{luthi}}$, to burn.
 လှော်, to slice, from $\sqrt{\text{lū}}$, to cut.
 ဝ, to surfeit or be satiated, from $\sqrt{\text{vas}}$, to be satisfied. Cf. fed up.
 ဝံ့, to dare, from $\sqrt{\text{vuñg}}$, to risk. Cf. venture.
 ဝန်း, to be round, from $\sqrt{\text{vañc}}$, to go round. Cf. wind.
 ပွဲ, to praise, from $\sqrt{\text{ve}}$, to praise, as in ပွဲချီး
 သက်, to descend, from $\sqrt{\text{sad}}$, to fall or let fall, as in သင်းသက်. Cf. set in sunset.
 သက်, to be satisfied, from $\sqrt{\text{sad}}$, to be satisfied, as in ပွဲသက်. Cf. satisfy, satiate.
 သင်း, to associate, from $\sqrt{\text{sañg}}$, to associate, as in ပေါင်းသင်း
 သင်း, to be fragrant, from $\sqrt{\text{singh}}$, to smell, as in သင်းကြိုင်. Cf. scent.
 သင့်, to be on good terms, from $\sqrt{\text{sambh}}$, to be familiar.
 သိ, to know, from $\sqrt{\text{citi}}$, to know.

- သီး, to fruit, from \sqrt{si} , to grow.
 သေ, to die, from \sqrt{se} , to expire.
 သောက်, to drink, from \sqrt{cus} , to drink. Cf. sup, sip.
 သွား, to go, from \sqrt{su} , to go.
 သွေ့, to be dry, from \sqrt{sivu} , to be dry. Cf. sere, sear.
 သိ, to neigh, from \sqrt{hes} , to neigh.

In the above list I have confined myself to verbs because it is the verb that has generally lost its origin in the misty past and because we are apt to look upon it as native to our tongue. The list is long but not too long; for, it is possible to extend it considerably. But I think I have demonstrated beyond doubt that our monosyllabic words are not always pure Burmese.

16. I will now proceed to notice some peculiarities in the method of deriving a word from Pali.

A single root may give us two cognate words. E. g.

- ကြည့်, to look from $\sqrt{cāy}$, to observe.
 ကြား, to hear from same.

The Pali word 'bahussuta' (lit. much hearing) for 'experience' is rendered into Burmese by အကြားအမြင်. This shows that the Burmans did regard, with modern European psychologists, the two perceptive senses of sight and hearing as the principal sources of our information.

A root sometimes gives us the two variants in one and the same Burmese word. E. g.

- ဆင်ခြင်, to consider, from \sqrt{sam} , to think.
 စောကြော, to examine, from \sqrt{cud} , to inquire.
 ညီမျှ, to be equal, \sqrt{mi} , to compare.

It will be noticed that, while we cannot dismember the first two examples, we can do the third and treat each member as a synonym of the other.

When a root has more than one meaning we get different words. E. g.

- ကြဲ, to scatter, from \sqrt{kir} , to scatter.
 ကြဉ်, to avoid, from \sqrt{kir} , to avoid.

Sometimes we get one word from the root and another from the stem. E. g.

- မြေ့, as in မြေ့မြေ့, to amuse, from \sqrt{mud} , to amuse.
 မြှော်, as in ဝမ်းမြှော်, to be happy, from stem 'moda' of the same root.

My Webster's Dictionary derives the word 'muse,' 'to seriously think or reflect' from French *muser*, 'to loiter' or 'trifle' and the word 'amuse' from the word *Amuser*, 'to make stay' 'to detain.' The Greek Muses perhaps did at one time dally with music and songs as implied in our မြှော် and were mirthful as implied in our မြှော်, before they loitered and trifled or deeply pondered.

Some words were derived not from the root but from the stem, e. g.

- စဉ်, from cinā, to arrange.
 ထုန်, from dhunā, to tremble
 ဟိန်, from hino, to be hot.

Others were derived from stems or completed verbs:—

- မည်, from mayati, to utter a sound.
 ထိ, from thiyati, to come in contact. Cf. archaic ထဲ from
 root 'the' and modern ထွေ or ထိုး with touch, tact.
 သာယာ, from sāyati, to be pleasant.
 တင့်တယ်, from santayati, to be suitable.
 မွေးရှက်, from missayati, to be mixed.
 စူးစူးရှ, from nisinno, seated.
 sati, to investigate.

(Note that our verbal ending မည် (coll. တယ်) corresponds to Pali termination 'ti'.)

Sometimes we derived our words from nouns or adjectives, e. g.

- ဝေဘန်, from vibhaṅgo, division.
 ကြမ်းတမ်း, from caṇḍaṁ, roughness.
 နီးကပ်, from nikaṭa, near.
 နေထိုင်, from nisino, seated.

Only the first member in each of the first two examples can be used singly or in fresh combinations, but not the second member. From နီးကပ် we seem to have got our expression နီးစပ်, but at the same time, we can derive separately နီး, from prefix 'ni' or root 'nid,' 'to be near' and စပ် from the root 'sap,' 'to join.' When certain words can be derived in two ways it is difficult to determine which method was actually adopted by our ancestors.

I have already observed that we drew upon prefixes from our words, but it is curious that the same prefix sometimes gave us quite different words. E. g.—

- ဦးငွေ, from ni, $\sqrt{\text{vid}}$, to be disgusted with.
 နစ်မြုပ်, from ni, $\sqrt{\text{muj}}$, to sink. ,
 ပိတ်, from ni, $\sqrt{\text{pil}}$, to press down.

In course of time the first syllable in each of these three examples began to be regarded as a synonym of the second when the original disyllabic word was dismembered into two monosyllables, as already observed in the case of ဝိမ်းမည်း

နစ် here has nothing to do with our archaic နစ်, 'to step back,' which was merely the contraction of ni $\sqrt{\text{vat}}$, to step back.

ပိတ် evidently gave us its variant ပိတ်ဖျတ် before both variants were dismembered.

17. For the purpose of discovering some general laws of Burmese speech I have divided the subject of my study into three parts;—

- I. Inscriptions;
- II. Archaic Words; and
- III. Modern Speech.

I have confined myself to those inscriptions already made accessible to the public through the pages of this Journal. The historical development of orthography in the light of these inscriptions discloses some of the fundamental laws of the Burmese speech, governing notably the changes of vowels and consonants involved in syllabification. A study of them reveals a remarkable affinity between Pali and Burmese in so far as changes in vowels in word-formation are concerned. If this be not due to the natural tendency of the human tongue, it would go far to prove that not only is Burmese indebted to Pali for loan-words but that its very organic growth and development has also been greatly influenced by that wonderful language. This is not surprising, seeing that our past educationalists in monastic institutions were all well versed in Pali.

A study of archaic words is intended to further illustrate those laws, while that of modern speech enables us to discover some additional laws peculiar to the Burmese tongue.

An application of these laws has been made in the study of the etymology of Burmese in its relation to Pali.

18. When a line such as,— စုစုပေါင်းသိသည့်၊ ရွှေရွှေဆည်းလေး (Lokasāra pyo) is met with in Burmese literature, the scholar contents himself with an explanation that သိသည့် is an archaic word for စုစုပေါင်းသုံး။

It is needless to remark that this explanation is but an application of my theory of synonyms. The student is alike satisfied that all that has to be said has been said. Neither of them trouble themselves any more about the true origin of these words, but both tacitly assume that they are pure Burmese. Elsewhere I made a casual remark on the facility with which the Burmans have rung several changes out of the simple, little Pali root 'ci'— 'to collect' or 'to accumulate.' It may now be allowed to tell its own tale. No one, I think, will seriously dispute the derivation of ဧ (granary) by the agricultural Burmese people from this root. It is still pronounced ဧ in Arakan. As a receptacle, ဧ is still retained in the now obsolete တန်ခိုး— 'a reservoir of filth.' ဧ gave us our archaic ကျ for 'abundance' and gave place to သဲ. (granary). While the modern ကျ (granary) was derived from the Arakanese form, the archaic ကျ (granary) was derived from the stem 'caya' of the same root. These examples further illustrate the ancient rule mentioned in the foregoing pages, namely that palatals freely changed into gutturals in Burmese.

In Burma paddy used to be stored by each family in ဝတ် (a paddy bin which is a basket more or less cylindrical). And when a later variant စည် (in which the final န် is not the nasal န် but a semi-vowel used as an equivalent of i) was first introduced to express a granary, one would expect the combination စည်ဝတ် on my theory of synonyms. Since granaries in Burma used to be barrel-shaped, as may still be seen in the Burman villages, စည် was next applied to a barrel or cask in which something other than paddy was stored. Then စည် was applied to a barrel-shaped drum. Hence we find the name စည်ဝတ် transferred to a kind of drum, probably from its resemblance to a ဝတ် (poke). But the original compilers of archaic words seem to have over-applied my theory of synonyms. Instead of regarding the ex-

pression ဝဉ်ပုတ်လင်းကွင်း as a statement of mere enumeration of different kinds of musical instruments, they have understood ဝဉ်ပုတ် (a drum) as a synonym of လင်းကွင်း (cymbals).

Again, we apply the expression လက်မိ to a close-fisted person, and the two variations of မိ occur in စစ်စဉ် (pron. စစ်မိ) — 'to be thrifty' or 'frugal.'

Now ကပ်မိ (writ. ကပ်မေး) is also applied to a miser and လက်ကပ် to a bad debtor, and I thought the progress from စေ့စပ် to စေးကပ် was but a step from the stage of joining to that of adhesion, as from cause to effect. So I judged at one time that စေး in စေးကပ် was derived from root 'ci.' But မိ was evidently derived from root 'sineh' — 'to be sticky'; for, in Burmese စ and သ were mutually convertible, e. g., လက်မိဆုပ် = လက်သီးဆုပ်. In စေးမိ, therefore, we have another example of the tendency to monosyllabification, because စေး gave rise to a fresh combination စေးကပ် (to adhere) and မိ to မိတ် (birdlime and rod). 'Sineha' is rendered into Burmese by သီစေး in which the 'oily' is used synonymously with the 'sticky.' Therefore, it may be concluded that သီ, as a variant of စေး, was also derived from the same Pali word through the process of monosyllabification.

To return to our little root 'ci.' It came to be pronounced မိတ်. At any rate, it was written မိတ် in 1247 A. D. when the orthography still followed the orthoepy. This change in the orthoepy is countenanced by the archaic word မိတ်ရင်ကျည် the earlier form of which must have been မိရင်ကျည်, because မိရင် in this expression was from Pali jīraṇa — 'decay.' The reduplicated မိတ် changed itself into the archaic ကိတ်ကိတ် — 'to guard against waste.' Further, မိတ် began to be written မိပ် — 'to be close-set'; for, finals 't' and 'p' were at one time interchangeable as in မြိတ် (1107) = မြိပ်

Finally, မိပ် changed itself into သိပ် — 'to set close' or 'compress,' under the law of consonantal change enunciated a little while ago. သိပ် colloquially means 'excessively' as in သိပ်ကောင်းတယ်, and gave place to တယ် in တယ်ကောင်းတယ်; for, in Burmese သ often becomes တ, e. g., သိခြင်း = တေးခြင်း and မျည်းသား = မျည်းတား.

Hence သိပ်သည်း in the line under discussion is really a variant of မိပ်စည်း.

The expression မိပ်စပ် or မိပ်စပ်စပ် (now written စေ့စေ့စပ်စပ်) is applicable to a person who carefully husbans his or her store. The modern word သေသေချာချာ — 'carefully' was probably the corruption of this word.

The idea of accumulation by economy is apparent in ပြီးစီးသည့် — 'to increase' and မီးပွား — 'cumulative profit.' စည်းမိပ် — (wealth) has something to do with 'ci,' as probably does the English word seisin or seizin.

Accumulation leads to the idea of fulness in the archaic ဝဉ် for ဖြည့် and in the modern စေ့ခုံ = ဖြည့်ခုံ. [By the way Professor U Tin has interpreted ဝဉ်စဉ် to mean 'light' in his list of archaic words recently published in this Journal]. From fulness we passed to the idea of sufficiency for distribution as in စေ့ငှ-စေ့ငှ-စေ့နှံ, or to that of completion as in နှစ်မိ (now written နှစ်စေ့), or to that of flourishing condition as in ဝဉ်-ဝဉ်ကား-ဝဉ်ပင်-ဝဉ်ထွန်း.

When things are collected one after another they would spatially form a row and temporarily, a series. Hence 'cināti'—from the same little root 'ci' means ခို—'to arrange in a row' or ခန့်—'to form a series.' It will be noticed here that the former was derived directly from the root and the latter, from the stem. The idea of serial arrangements is evident in ခိုကိုး—'to compose,' which gave rise to a later variant သိုကိုး—'to arrange' as flowers in a garland or as beads in a rosary.

Taking ချယ် as a synonymous variant of ခို in ခိုချယ်—'to variegate,' at first sight this word would appear to have been derived from the same root, because the lateral arrangement in all directions is involved in a mosaic. But we think it was derived from root 'citra,' 'to variegate'; for, in Burmese ဓ often becomes ဓ, as in ဓသုတ် = ဓရတ်, and the palatal changes into the guttural as already explained in the foregoing pages. If our derivation from 'citra' be correct, ခိုချယ် would give us another example of monosyllabification.

When the two door-leaves are 'put together' we say တခါးခိ (written တခါးစု). Hence စုစပ် means 'to join two things' or 'to settle the difference between two parties,' and စုဆပ် means 'to solder.' At first sight အစု appears to be a seed in which all future growth of a tree is potentially stored, but perhaps it was so-called because it 'connects' the past tree with the future plant. I may observe that it is also possible to derive ခို in တခါးခိ from root 'si,' 'to bind.' The idea of proximity seems to have been derived from that of close connection of two things put together, and we had the archaic ချဉ်းစု for ချဉ်းကပ်, 'to approach,' in which ချဉ်း itself was but a corruption of ချဉ်း probably from the same root 'ci.' This စု became ခဲ in the archaic ခဲခဲ (near.)

The Pali word 'samuccaya' from the same root is rendered into Burmese by ခေါင်းစည်းခြင်း, 'binding all together.' This idea of binding is apparent in:—

- ဝါးစည်း, a bundle of bamboos lashed together.
- စည်းချောင်, to bind.
- စည်းကြပ်, to bandage tightly.
- စည်းနှံ, to form an association.
- စည်းဝေး, to meet together.

In former times မြှား was called စည်း probably because the arrows were bundled together. The quiver was called မြှားစည်းတောင့် which has since given place to မြှားကျည်တောက်. ကျည်တောက် has now acquired the meaning of a bamboo tube or case in which something is put in. စည်းကိုး or စည်းကမ်း was the leather that secured the shaft to the yoke.

An enclosure is စည်း which is also called ခြံ, 'a fence,' probably from root 'kand,'—'to divide,' if not a variant of စည်း. A rule that binds, or sets a limit like a fence, is စည်းကန့် = စည်းကမ်း (system). I may add that it is possible to derive စည်း in these instances from root 'ciy,'—'to guard against' as in စောင့်စည်းသည်

To besiege a town is expressed in Burmese by မြိုက်စီးသည်.

The same word 'samuccaya' is also rendered by ဆည်းခြင်း. Thus we see that ဝဉ်း = ဆည်း, and we have:—

- ဆည်းပေါင်း, to collect.
- ဆည်းရ, to gather.
- ဆည်းပူး, to accumulate.
- ဆည်းကပ်, to serve.
- ဆည်းဆည်း, to collect together.

This last word has already been noticed. ဆည်, 'to dam up the water' was written ဆည်း in မြစ်ပင်ချောင်းဆည်းလေကောင်းဆည်, (*Samvara-pyo*) and it is still pronounced ဆယ် in ကျောက်ဆည်, showing the influence of 'y' in the stem 'caya' on the orthoepy. The earlier form of ဆည် appears to have been ဆီး, 'to put up a barrier' as in ဆီးတား, which compare with ဝဉ်းတား.

19. From the above discussion we may imagine the extent to which the Burmese language may have enriched itself through Pali. I think I have sufficiently vindicated the claims of Pali to recognition on the part of scholars as an indispensable factor in the study of Burmese Philology. The science of Burmese Philology is in its infancy and deserves every encouragement from all interested in Burmese. It awaits research. We want more workers but not mockers. We have materials but we want men for the manufacture of them into munitions to break down the strong walls of prejudice which, I may say, is not far removed from the German 'kultur'; for, at present, nine out of ten cultured gentlemen one meets with—nay, the whole lot of them, would simply pooh-pooh the very idea of 'grafting' a twig of the Aryan tree on the Tibeto-Burman stock.

I have broadly indicated the lines on which the study might be pursued by a proper division of labour. Linguists should hunt up and collect all foreign words. For instance, it would be extremely interesting to know what words, and how many, were be-queathed to us by the Portuguese Settlers. Other competent hands might take up inscriptions and discover as many rules of ancient orthography as possible. Another group of workers might study archaic words and illustrate the phonetic changes that have been undergone in the language. The next group would do well to investigate the laws of modern speech. A fifth group is to specialise themselves in whetting their etymological instinct. In this branch Pali and Sanscrit scholars might separate the words derived respectively from the two sister languages. A sixth group might inquire into the history of such words as have a tale which would throw light on the manners, customs, habits beliefs, and thoughts of the Burmese race in the dim past. A seventh group might develop the comparative side of Burmese philology. Last but not least, those with an historical aptitude might construct the history of the language itself.

The rules to be published later will be, perhaps, as dry as the Pali rules of Sandhi to a lay reader. But an acceptance of them will lead to the better appreciation of the vocabulary to follow.

This paper has been written at the request of the Editor somewhat hurriedly amidst distractions of heavy official duties and cannot be free from shortcomings. But if it were only to pave the way for more attention to

the hitherto neglected—nay, despised—subject, I shall feel myself amply repaid for my labours.

S. Z. AUNG.

Note:—The above article by U Shwe Zan Aung is the most important contribution to the study of Burmese philology that has ever been made. The learning and critical acumen displayed therein will be apparent to all readers. Whatever varying opinions we may have on the subject, we should agree in giving credit to the author for his learned paper, and especially for his theory of synonyms, which proves, as explained above, the great debt of Burmese to Pali in the matter of roots and single words. That we should all agree with the author in his detailed application of the theory can not be expected. It is reasonable to expect, however, that any such superficial disagreement as there is, may not detract from the real merits of the theory as a whole. That it has enabled the author to vindicate the great claims of Pali on Burmese with greater force and confidence than has hitherto been done is in itself a good proof of its merits.

Our knowledge of the various points raised in the paper is meagre and requires the aid of future research to make it critically accurate. And so the main question (assuming it to be true) of the Pali derivation of the Burmese words mentioned in the paper should not, properly speaking, be finally decided until we know definitely about another question, *viz.* the introduction of Buddhism and the Pali language into Burma. The two questions are intimately related and affect each other mutually. For it is clear that, since the Burmese words have been derived from the Pali, they cannot have been in use in their known form *before* the Pali language itself was introduced into Burma. And if, as we very probably shall be, we are able to determine, from inscriptions or some archaeological discoveries, the exact date when these Burmese words were first in use, then their Pali etymology would enable us to infer that Pali was known to Burma before that date, which would be a distinct step in the right direction. If, on the other hand, instead of that, we happen to be able to determine the exact date when Pali was known to Burma, then that date would become the limit beyond which we could not push the past history of the Burmese words. Such are the interesting questions involved in the theory of synonyms.

For the present, however, we make bold to commit ourselves to a theory, which should intimately affect the theory of synonyms.

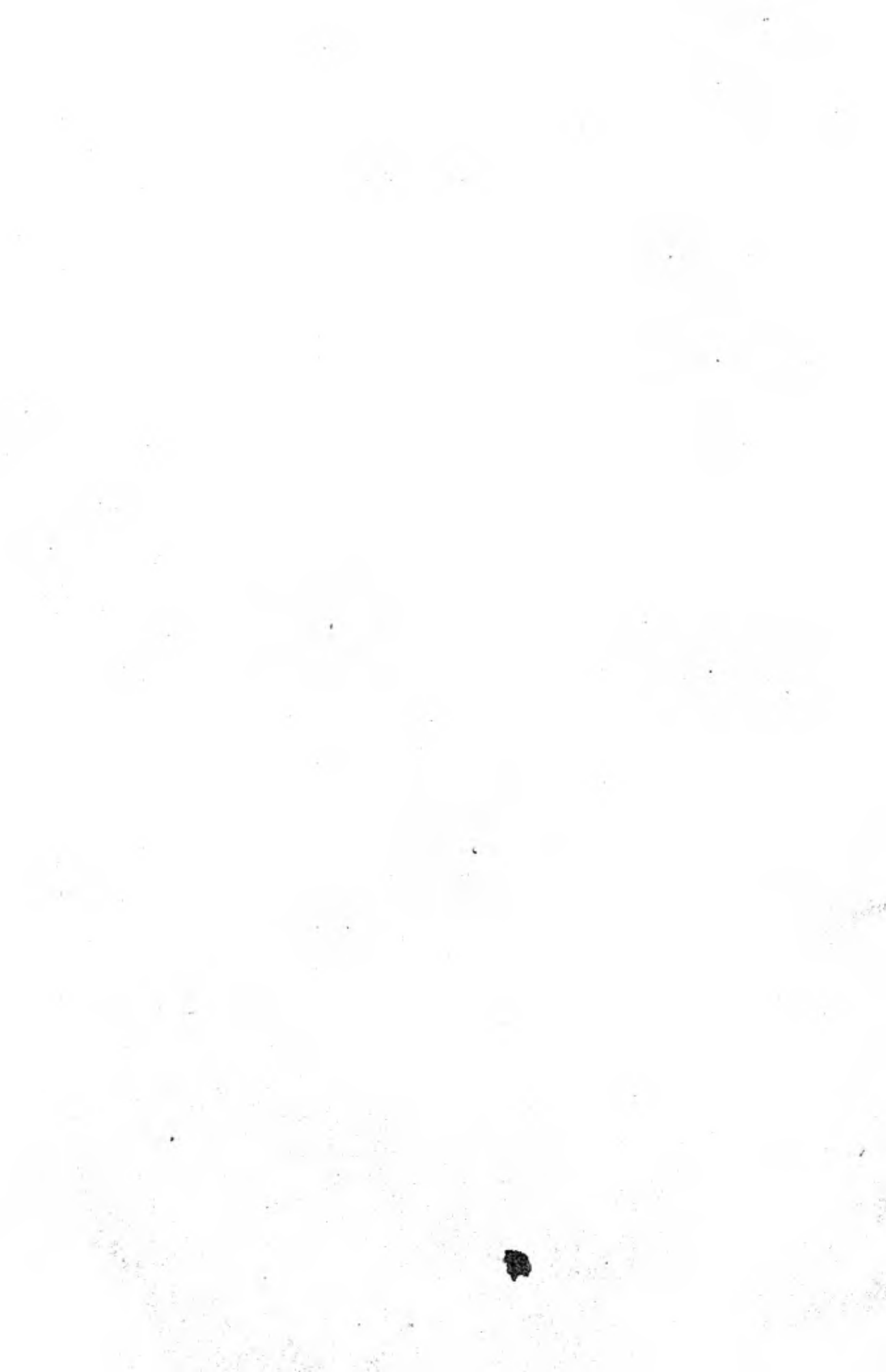
Burmese is indebted to Pali not only for roots and single words. The life-blood of the Burmese language itself is supplied from the Pali. Elsewhere it has been pointed out (See Journal, Vol. IV, p. 121 and Vol. V, p. 60) by the present writer that the origin of most of the Burmese proverbs and similes and other figures of speech lies in the Pali Jataka stories and that the masterpieces of Burmese poetry are not original but clever adaptations from the Pali. In fact, the gems of Burmese literature have been mostly culled from the classical language. Further proofs of the influence of Pali on the thoughts and ideas of Burmese writers are seen in the way some Burmese phrases and clauses have been constructed. Clauses like *အခွင့်ရသည့် ဝတ်ပြုသည့်* are clearly due to the Pali *okāsam labhati, vattam karoti*. The verbs *ရှိသည့် ဖြစ်သည့်* are used just as idiomatically as the Pali *atthi, hoti*. Thus *dve putta me hoti* is equivalent to the Burmese *သွေးသားနှစ်ယောက်ရှိ၏*. The idiom *tassa etad aho si* gives rise to the Burmese *အခုတော့မှ အကြံဖြစ်၏*. It would not be worth while increasing such examples. It is remarkable that one language should owe so much to another. The similarities are not chance imitations nor are they random shots. They are the results of a movement, important to Burmese literature. The Burmese are pre-eminently a religious nation and have testified to their religious zeal by developing a vast literature and also by translating the Pali books into the vernacular. Not only are the three Pitakas, the Buddhist Scriptures translated, but, generally speaking, any other work written in the sacred language is translated. Such translations are

done by taking each Pali word and giving the meaning in Burmese, so that we have a word-for-word translation. This habit of writing such translations, *Nissayas* as they are called, carried on for such a long period, had a very important effect in that it framed the style of the Burmese language. The Burmese sentence thus becomes exactly like the Pali sentence, so much so that if we take a Pali work accompanied by a Burmese *Nissaya* and read only the *Nissaya* leaving out the Pali text, we shall find the *Nissaya* excellent Burmese. The reader may test it for himself with the following quotation from the *Atthasālini Nissaya*, a translation of the *Atthasālini*.

"Mahagatigamiyatissadattatthero nama, မဟာဂတိဂမိယတိဿဝတ္ထအမည်ရှိသောထေရ်သည်။ Mahabodhim, မဟာဗောဓိကို vandissami, ရှိခိုးအံ့။ iti, ဟု။ paratiram, သမုဒြာတဖက်သို့။ gacchanto, သွားလေသော်။ navaya, လှေ၏။ uparitale, အထက်အမြင့်၌။ nisimno, နေ့လျက်။ mahasamuddam, မဟာသမုဒြာကို olokesi kira, ကြည့်သတက်။ atha tasmim kale, ထိုသို့ကြည့်ဆည်ရှိသော်။ assa, ထိုမဟာဂတိဂမိယတိဿဝတ္ထထေရ်အား။ tasmim samaye, ထိုသို့ကြည့်သောအခါ၌။ paratiram, ထိုမှတစ်ဖက်သို့လည်း။ neva paññāyati, မင်း။ orimatiram, ဤမှတစ်ဖက်သို့လည်း။ na paññāyati, မင်း။

Whatever the age of the Burmese language may be, it is thus clear that the assimilation between the Pali language (after its introduction into Burma) and the vernacular is so complete that the Pali may not be neglected in a systematic investigation of the latter.

Maung Tin.



NOTES AND REVIEWS.

LITERAL TRANSLITERATION OF THE BURMESE ALPHABET.

In transcribing an oriental language into Burman characters, two methods naturally present themselves. The first, like the Hunterian system, is purely phonetic, and endeavours to represent, as accurately as possible, the pronunciation only of the language; the purpose of this method is to furnish a ready means of transcribing, as they are spoken, geographical names and other common words current in the country and in every day use even among people not speaking the language; it is also used with advantage in obtaining, without going the length of mastering the native letters, a knowledge of the colloquial. It is a method of practical utility well adapted to official and commercial requirements. The second is what has been called the "scientific method," it does not in the least take into account the pronunciation, its aim being solely to reproduce, in Roman characters, as faithfully as possible, the exact form of the language, as it has been fixed in writing; thus endeavouring to retain, in the foreign characters, the older form of the language as preserved by its alphabet and unaffected by its pronunciation which is always subject to slow but none the less very real change. Such a literal transliteration is generally adopted for transcription of inscriptions and for the purpose of philological comparison^{*1}. This is the method adopted in the following scheme of transliteration.

Burmese having adopted an alphabet based on an Indian prototype, the system of transliteration used for Sanskrit and Pāli seems indicated for it also. But Burmese, belonging to a family of languages quite different from that of the Aryan languages of India, has sounds peculiar to itself which the foreign alphabet could not represent; for these comparatively few sounds conventional symbols were invented; hence to represent them conventional symbols will also be used.

^{*1}. An ideal transliteration would be one uniting both methods, the literal and the phonetic which could be applied to all purposes both practical and scientific; this would not, of course be impossible. But to do so for Burmese, for instance, in which some letters have acquired a quite different value from their original one, in which each vowel has two or three sounds according to the combination in which it appears, final consonants freely interchange their classes and medial vowels and nasals are often dropped owing to a shift of accent, such a transliteration would require a diacritical apparatus so complicated as to be more puzzling than useful. Moreover, I have remarked that, for purposes of comparison, the literal transliteration of Burmese is in many cases more useful than the rendering of the modern pronunciation. But as, in all such comparisons, we have to deal with living languages, the actual pronunciation cannot altogether be put aside, for it enables us to lay down more or less fixed rules of phonetic equivalences; in these circumstances, the best way is, whenever necessary, to indicate the pronunciation within brackets after the literal transliteration. This is what has generally been done in the few—unfortunately too few—essays on Indo-Chinese phonology in which Burmese enters as a term of comparison.

I. CONSONANTS.

The consonantal system is the same as in Pāli, and the transcription is that used for that language in Europe, except for one letter.—

Gutturals	က ka	ခ hka	ဂ ga	ဃ gha	င ṇa
Palatals	စ * ² ca	ဆ cha	ဇ ja	ည jha	ဋ ṇa
Cerebrals	တ ta	ထ tha	ဒ da	ဋ dha	ဏ ṇa
Dentals	တ ta	ထ tha	ဒ da	ဋ dha	န na
Labials	ပ pa	ဖ pha	ဗ ba	ဘ bha	မ ma
Semi-vowels	ယ ya	ရ ra	လ la	ရှ ḷa	ဝ wa
Sibilant	ဆ sa	အspirate	ဟ ha		
Anusvāra	ံ ṁ;	unclassified	အ a		

(a) In all consonants the vowel *a* is inherent. No *a* is inherent in anusvāra. This *a* is elided when a consonant is final, which is indicated in Burmese by a curve stroke above it, thus * e. g., က် k; န် ṇ; င် ṅ; တ် t; ပ် p, etc.; င် ṅ, final in a syllable is often superscript over the initial consonant of the following syllable thus န် သဂ်တ = သင်ဂတ *saṅgaha*; မ်ဝ်သ = မင်ဝ်သ *maṅgalā*.

(b) Double ဋ ṇ becomes ဋ ṇ; these letters are used only in Pāli words. ဋ (now pronounced ṇ) is final in pure Burmese words and is transliterated by ṇ, for ဋ at the end of words is not intended to represent a double ဋ but a single one; e. g., ပြဋ, *praṇ*, ဝဋ, *caṇ*.

(c) The letter 'o' is transliterated by *w* instead of *v*, because *w* represents the true value of 'o' *²; moreover a *v* would make some combinations unpronounceable. But in Pāli and Sanskrit words and in quotations from these languages, the Continental transliteration *v* is retained.

(d) The letter အ *a*, is also included among the consonants; as such, it fulfils two functions; first, in inscriptions, it is used to denote the short tone, which consists in the sudden occlusion of the voice affecting the vowels pronounced in this tone; this letter, with the *virāma* (န) is either subscript or postscript, and in transcription is represented by an inverted comma placed after the word affected; e. g.—မယာ်—*mayā'*; မိန်—*min'*; အမ်—*am'*. The dot (.) now used for this tone is nothing but this န simplified for ease and rapidity of writing. Then, အ is also used as a fulcrum to initial vowels; this use is practically unknown in old epigraphs and becomes current only very late; in such a position, this အ has nothing to do phonetically with the word itself, it is merely a support for the initial vowel, and has therefore no value in the pronunciation or etymologically; hence, in transliteration, this fulcrum is left unrepresented by any sign or symbol; in so doing, I am but

*². This is pronounced as in Italian, or as in English church.

*³. This letter is pronounced *v* in some Lolo dialects: *ve*=Burm. ဝေ; *we*³, far.

following a usage already established, and which has the advantage of presenting the word in its original and true form, and as it is still found in related dialects; thus *အိ*, to sleep, is transcribed *ip*; *အိ*, *im*, etc., the ancient way of writing these words (without the fulcrum) being, *အိ*, *ip*; *အိ*, *im*. To transcribe *အိ* by *aip*, would give the impression of a diphthong which does not in reality exist; to transcribe it by *a-ip*, would bring in an element *a*, which is phonetically non-existent, and might be taken for the common prefix *အ*.

MEDIAL CONSONANTS.

The following are the symbols used to represent the medial consonants.

Consonant.	Symbol (medial)	Transliteration.	Examples.
ယ	့	y	ကျိ <i>kyi</i>
ရ	့	r	ကြာ <i>krā</i>
ဝ	့	w	ကျန် <i>kwan</i>
ဟ	့	h	မ္ဗန် <i>mhan</i>

These symbols are further combined one with another as follows:—

Combinations.	Medial combinations.	Transliteration.	Examples.
ယ and ဝ	့	yw	ကျန် <i>kywan</i>
ယ and ဟ	့	hy	ကျန် <i>lhyan</i>
ရ and ဝ	့	rw	ပြန် <i>prwan</i>
ရ and ဟ	့	hr	မြန် <i>mhrok</i>
ရ and ဟ and ဝ	့	hrw	မြန် <i>mhrwā</i>
ဟ and ဝ	့	hw	ကျန် <i>lhwā</i>

The combination ရ (ရ+ဟ) which is always initial, is transliterated by *rh*; e.g., ရှ *rhwe*, gold.

II. VOWELS.

Leaving aside, for a while, the consideration of the tones, we see that the vowel system in Burmese is the same as in Pāli; the following vowels have the same value as the Pāli ones and can be transliterated in exactly the same manner.

Initial.		Medial.	
အ <i>a</i>	အာ <i>ā</i>	+	— and <i>ā</i>
အိ <i>i</i>	အိ <i>i</i>	+	— and <i>i</i>
အူ <i>u</i>	အူ <i>u</i>	+	— and <i>u</i>
အေ <i>e</i>	အေ <i>e</i>	+	— and <i>e</i>

the dash accompanying the symbols of the medial vowels indicates the position of the consonants.

(a) The initial vowel အ has no corresponding medial symbol because, as has already been said, it is inherent in all consonants.

(b) Besides the above Burmese possesses two others that are foreign to Pāli: ၎ and ဝိ. ၎ is transliterated by *ai*, pronounced as *e* in "met", or *ai* in the French "lait"; it is in reality the same as -*oṣ*, *y* and made its appearance in inscriptions only in the 15th century, before which date all the words now spelt with ၎ were written with an—*oṣ*. The only real difference between the two is tonal, -*oṣ* belonging to the medial and ၎ to the heavy tone. ဝိ is merely a conventional sign made up of two vowels, *u* and *i*; it is now pronounced 'o' as in 'photo, bone,' but its pronunciation is affected by a following final *ṣ* *k* or *ṣ* *n*, when it becomes the diphthong *ai*. It is now impossible to ascertain its pronunciation eight hundred years ago, date of the earliest inscriptions as yet found. Burmese words containing this symbol are, in related dialects, principally Lolo dialects and Maru, pronounced with the following sounds: *ō*, *ū*, *ō*, *ū*, *iii* and *oi*. We shall represent it in this scheme by *ui*, to be in conformity with the transcription of it adopted already by Mr. Blagden in his literal transliteration of the Talaing alphabet.

III. TONES.

There are three tones in Burmese, *4 which affect all the vowels; the short or abrupt which is but an occlusion of the voice; the medial or long tone, and the heavy or falling tone.

(1). The short tone is denoted by a dot (.) placed under the vowel affected by it. The vowels *a* *i* *u* are naturally short, and as such do not require the tonal sign; the other vowels, not being naturally short, require it when affected by this tone, thus:—*e*., *ṣ*., *o*., *ui*.. It has already been stated that this dot (.) is but a modification of the old *ṣ* (.) which was used to denote this tone. In the transliteration of tonal languages, numbers, indicating each tone, are now generally used; the same system will be followed here, and the short tone designated by the number 1 placed to the right of the word; *e. g.*, *le*¹; *pa*¹; *mo*¹; *pu*¹.

(2) The medial tone, when affecting the vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, is denoted in the transcription of Pāli by a dash over these letters, so that *ā*, *ī* and *ū* belong to this tone and need no other diacritical sign or number to show this. The following, as they stand, without any special sign, belong to this tone—*e*, *ṣ*, *y*, and *ui*, and no number will be used to indicate it. When *o* is affected by this tone, a small curve stroke is placed on the top to the right of it, *o*., this shall be denoted by the number 2 placed after the word: *le*²; *mo*².

(3) The third or heavy tone is indicated by two dots (:) placed after the vowel affected; *e. g.*, *le*³ (*le*), *pa*³ (*pa*), *mo*³ (*mo*) it will be marked in transliteration by the number 3—*le*³; *mi*³; *pe*³; *chui*³. This tone is inherent in the vowels *o* and *ai*, so that the dots are not used with these two letters and this practice will be followed in transliterating.

*4. Practically four, if the very abrupt stop of the voice in pronouncing the finals *ṣ*, *ṣ*, *ṣ*, *ṣ* is reckoned, as it should be, as a tone; this tone has and requires no particular sign to denote it.

(Sometimes, but very seldom, the heavy tone is denoted, for the sake of emphasis, after ဝဲ and ယဲ which are then written ဝဲး³ and ယဲး³).

The following table gives the vowels arranged according to tones.

Short tone.	Medial tone.	Heavy tone.
အ a	အဝ } \bar{a} -ဝ -၇	အဝး } \bar{a}^3 -ဝး -၇း
ဓိ } i ဓိ	ဓိ } \bar{i}	ဓိး } i^3
ဓူ } u -ဓူ	ဓူ } \bar{u} -ဓူ	ဓူး } u^3 -ဓူး
ဓဲ. e ¹	ဓဲ-ဓဲ	ဓဲး } e ³ ဓဲး
ဝဲး } o ¹ ဝဲး ဝဲး	ဝဲး } o ² ဝဲး ဝဲး	ဝဲး } o ဝဲး ဝဲး ဝဲးး } o ³ (very rare)
ယဲ ai ¹	ယဲယဲ y	ယဲ ai ယဲး ai ³ (very rare)
ဝိ ui ¹	ဝိ ui	ဝိး ui ³

The tones also affect the short vowels *a*, *i*, *u* when followed by final nasals, the same signs being used. When the signs of neither the short tone (.) nor the heavy (:) are used the word naturally belongs to the medial tone; of the nasals, ဝဲ and ယဲ take only န after them, in modern Burmese; *e. g.*—

Short tone.	Medial tone.	Heavy tone.
လၢ် ¹ lañ ¹	လၢ် lañ	လၢ် ³ lañ ³
မိၣ် ¹ min ¹	မိၣ် min	မိၣ် ³ min ³
မိၣ် ¹ cim ¹	မိၣ် cim	မိၣ် ³ cim ³
တုၣ် ¹ turñ ¹	တုၣ် turñ	တုၣ် ³ turñ ³
စၢၣ် ¹ coñ ¹	စၢၣ် coñ	စၢၣ် ³ coñ ³
ပိၣ် ¹ puñ ¹	ပိၣ် puñ	ပိၣ် ³ puñ ³

V. ABBREVIATIONS.

A number of abbreviations of frequently recurring words are often used; most of these abbreviations do not admit of any practical transliteration, so that it is necessary to transliterate them according to their full form.

Abbreviation.	Full form.	Transliteration.
နွိ	နွိက်	nhuik
ခင်း	ကောင်း	koñ ³
ခွဲ	ကြောင့်	kron ¹
ခ-ဝ	ခ-ဝက်	ok
လင်း {	လည်းကောင်း	lañ ³ koñ ³
မာ်	မည်	mañ
သျှ်	သည့်	sañ ¹
တံ	တော်	to ²
လုၣ်	လုလင်	lulañ
သွေဝံ	သွေးသောက်	swe ³ sok
ကျွန်	ကျွန်နု	kywannup
နက်	နက်	nañnak
ရွိ	ရွှေ	rwe ¹

၏ as a verbal and genitive suffix is of very frequent use; it is a modification of the old form ခေါ် *e'*. It is now pronounced *i*; its full modern form, seldom used, is ခေါ် *eñ¹*, which is also pronounced *i*; we shall therefore transcribe it by *i*.

In the above scheme, I have purposely left out all considerations of Burmese phonetic, which can be better treated in a special paper, though it would have shown that such a scheme of literal transliteration as the one explained above is by far, in so much as Burmese is concerned, better, adapted to our purpose than any phonetic scheme could have been.*⁵ It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge here the help and suggestions so kindly given by Mr. Taw Sein Ko.

The following are practical illustrations of the scheme. The first is an inscription dated *Sakkarāj* 553=1191 A. D. Old Burmese inscriptions do

*⁵. Cf. Note I.

not note the tones, except the short one by means of subscript or postscript ဝိ ; and sometimes, but so very seldom that it cannot be mentioned as a current usage, by using ဝိ /i to represent the heavy tone. The second is in modern Burmese, in which all the tones are carefully marked.

Extract from the VOHĀRALĪNATTHADĪPANĪ KYAM.³

ပုဂံရာဇဝင်တွင်။ ဟူမင်းထီး။ နန်းတက်သောကာလ။ မယ်တော်နဂါးမက။ ရန်သူတို့ကိုနှိပ်နင်းနိုင်သော။ နဂါးလူလင် ၁၀၀ ပေးနှင်းကြောင်း။ နဂါးလူလင် ၁၀၀ ထိုမင်းကြီး ထွက်တော်မူသောအခါ။ လှေကားတို့၌အမြီးစောင့်ရှောက်ရကြောင်း။ ထိုနဂါးလူလင်တို့သည်။ ဂဠုန်ကိုကြောက်သောအားဖြင့်။ ကြွေကွင်းသဏ္ဌာန်သျှောင်ကွင်းထိုးစေ၏။ ကြိမ်လုံးစွဲလျက်။ စောင့်နေကြောင်းကိုဆိုသည်။ ။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၂၇၉ ခု။ ပုဂံပြည်တွင်။ တောင်သူကြီးမင်းမြစ်လျှင်။ မိမိသခွားသာခင်းအရပ်ရှိကံ။ ဥယျာဉ်ကြီးသာယာစွာပြုပြီးသော်။ နဂါးရုပ်ကြီးစွာလုပ်၍။ ထားကြောင်းကိုဆိုသည်။ ထိုနဂါးရုပ်လုပ်၍။ ကိုးကွယ်ခြင်းသည်ကား။ နဂါးသည်။ လူတို့ထက်မြတ်လေသည်။ ဘုန်းတန်ခိုးကြီးလေသည်။ ကိုးကွယ်ရသောအကျိုးကြီးမည်။ မှတ်မှား၍။ ပြုလေသည်ဟူ၍။ ဆိုသည်။ ထိုကာလ။ နဂါးတို့ကိုမင်းနှင်တကွ။ မြတ်နိုးရုံသေပူဇော်ကိုးကွယ်ကြသည်ဖြစ်၍။ နာဂသမာဓိ။ နာဂဝိသုဒ္ဓိအစရှိသော။ ဆွဲမည်ကိုပေးတော်မူကြသည်ဟုလည်းလည်းသင့်ရာ၏။ ထိုနာဂသမာဓိ။ ဆွဲမည်မှာ။ ရှေးရာဇဝင်ကျောက်စာသံပိုင်းများတွင်။ နဂါးကိုအစွဲပြုသည်။ ဆင်ပြောင်ကိုအစွဲပြုသည်။ အရိပ်အမြက်မျှမထွေဘူးသောကြောင့်။ အနက်အဓိပ္ပာယ် ၂ သွယ်။ ၂ နည်းကြံ၍။ ရေးလိုက်သည်။ မသင့်လျှင်ပြင်ဆင်တော်မူကြကုန်။

ထိုနာဂသမာဓိ။ ဆွဲမည်ကား။ ပုဂံနရပတိစဉ်သူမင်းကြီးလက်ထက်။ သမက်တော်နာဂသမာဓိ။ ပုဂံနရပတိဟပတေ။ တရုတ်ပြေးမင်းလက်ထက်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၆၁၀ ခု။ ကြည်းဗဒုံမြို့တည်။ ဗဒုံသူကြွယ်မင်းသား။ နာဂသမာဓိကြီး။ ၎င်းနာဂသမာဓိငယ်။ အဝတွင်မင်းကြီးစွာစော်ကဲသားတော်။ အနန်းသခင်။ ဘုရင်မင်းခေါင်လက်ထက်။ စစ်ကိုင်းမြို့စား။ နာဂသမာဓိ။ ဆွဲခံစောမည်းရှိကြောင်း။ အနန်းကြော့ရှင်ဘုရင်နရပတိလက်ထက်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၇၂ ခု။ အနန်းတော်တောင်းခွမ်း၍။ နန်းသစ်တည်တော်မူရာတွင်။ နာဂသမာဓိကိုပေါင်းကြီးညွှန်သွယ်။ ပေါင်းစေပြီးသော်။ မြစင်သောမြင်းလျှင်စီးစေ၍။ နန်းတော်ရာအရှေ့ မှတ်နာစာကနှင်စေ၏။ နန်းတည်ကျောက်စာ။ ရာဇဝင်သစ်။ စစ်ကိုင်းမြို့ရှိ။ စောမည်းကျောင်းကျောက်စာ။ ကြည်းဗဒုံမြို့တည်သမိုင်းစာတမ်းများတွင်။ နာဂသမာဓိခံသော။ မှတ်မင်းရှင်းတို့အကြောင်းကိုဆိုသည်။

Extract from the VOHĀRALĪNATTHADĪPANĪ KYAM.³

Pugaṃ rājawaṃ twaṃ || Pyū maṇ³thi³ || nan³ tak so kāla || mayto² nagā³ma ka || ransū tui¹ kui nhipnaṃ³ nuiṃ so || nagā³ lulaṃ i8o || pe³nhaṃ³ kroṇ³ || nagā³lulaṃ i8o tui¹ maṇ³krī³ thwak to² mū so¹ akhā || lhekā³ tui¹ nhuik amrai³ coṇ¹ rhok ra kroṇ³ || thui nagā³ lulaṃ tui¹ saṇ || gaḷun kui krok so¹ ā³phraṇ¹ || kro¹kwaṃ³ saṇṭhān shyoṇkwaṃ³ thum³ ce rwe¹ || krim luṃ³ cwai³ lyak || coṇ¹ ne kroṇ³ kui chui saṇ || sakkarāj 279 khu || Pugaṃ praṇ twaṃ || Toṇsūkrī³ maṇ³ phrac lhyaṃ || mimi sakhwā³ yākhaṃ³ arap nhuik || uyyāṇ krī³ sāyācwā pru pri³so² || nagā³rup krī³cwā lup rwe¹ thā³ kroṇ³ kui chui saṇ || thui nagā³rup lup rwe¹ || kui³kwaychraṇ³ saṇ kā³ || nagā³ saṇ || lū tui¹ thak mrat le saṇ || bhun³tan³khui³ krī³ le saṇ || kui³kway ra so² akyui³ krī³ maṇ || mhat mhā³ rwe¹ pru le saṇ hū rwe¹ chui saṇ || || thui kāla || nagā tui¹kui maṇ³ nhaṃ¹

takwa || mratnui³ ruisse pūjo² kui³kway kra sañ phrac rwe¹ || nāgasamān³ ||
 nāgavaddhana aca rhi so || bhwai¹ mañ kui pe³to² mū kra sañ || hu yū so²lañ³
 sañ¹ rā i || thui Nāgasaman³ bhwai¹mañ mhā || rhe³ rājawañ kyokcā sampuin³
 myā³twan || nagā³ kui acwai³ pru sañ || chañpron³ kui acwai³ pru sañ || arip
 amrwak mhya ma twe¹ bhū³ so kron¹ || anak adhippāy 2-sway || 2-nañ³ krañ
 rwe¹ re³ luik sañ || ma sañ¹ lhyañ prañchañ to² mū kra kun ||

Thui nāgasaman³ bhwai¹mañ kā³ || Pugañ Narapaticañsū mañ³kri³
 lakthak || samak to² Nāgasamān³ || Pugañ Narasihapate¹ || Taruppre³mañ³
 lakthak || sakkarāj 618 khu || Krañ³baduñ mru¹ tañ || Baduñ sūkrwaymañ³
 sā³ || Nāgasamān³kri³ || lañ³koñ³ Nāgasamān³ ñay || Awa twan Mañ³kri³-
 cwāco²kai³ sā³to² || rhwe nan³sakhañ || bhurañ Mañ³khoñ lakthak || Cackuin³
 mru¹cā³ || Nāgasamān³ bhwai¹khañ Comañ³ rhi kron³ || || rhwe nan³-
 kro³rhañ bhurañ Narapati lakthak || Sakkarāj 872 khu || rhwe nan³to²
 hoñ³nwam³ rwe¹ || nan³sac tañ to² mū rā twan || Nāgasamān³ kui boñ³kri³-
 ñwan³sway || poñ³ce prī³so² || phrū cañ so mrañ³lyañ cī³ ce rwe¹ || nan³to²rā
 arhe¹ myaknhācā ka nhañ ce i hū rwe¹ || nan³ tañ kyokcā || rājawañ sac ||
 Cackuin³mru¹ rhi || Comañ³ kyoñ³ kyokcā || Krañ³baduñ mru¹ tañ samuiñ³
 cātam³ myā³ twan || Nāgasamān³ khañ so mhūmat mañ³khyañ³ tui¹ akroñ³
 kui chui sañ ||

ပုဂံမြို့အရှေ့တောင်ယွန်းအရပ်တောင်ကျိန်တုရားကျောက်စာ။

- (၁)။ ဩဗြိတဝနာဒိတပဝရဓမ္မရာဇာမင်ကြိအမတ်
- (၂)။ တျာကြိသိဇီသုရမည်သောခါယကာသည်။သင်္ဃီရာဆိုင်
- (၃)။ ငြိယိစသကယ်သောဟိကုန်ရာဇ္ဇိသောသဗ္ဗဗျမည်
- (၄)။ သော။ပုဟိအာဇ္ဇိကိုင်ထိုင်သောဟိကြောင်အော်။
- (၅)။ သကရစ် ၅၅၂ ခု တန်ဆောင်မှန်လဆန်
- (၆)။ (၁၅) ရက်သုဇ္ဈာန်နိဗ္ဗာန် ၃ပဟိရ် ၁ နာဦသောအာ။ ။
- (၇)။ ထာပနာသောတြိဂံသရိဂွတ်သောကာသွိုင်
- (၈)။ မဟာထေရ်ပဋိရ်ဗောဓိ။သွိုင်ကုသောရဒိသေ
- (၉)။ ထိ။သွိုင်အာရိရ်။သွိုင်မဟာပဏ္ဍိတ်။သွိုင်
- (၁၀)။ င်အက်။သွိုင် (၆)။ဓမ္မကဒ္ဓိရ်။သွိုင်ဓမ္မဂုရု။သွိုင်
- (၁၁)။ ဓမ္မနန္ဒိ။သွိုင်နံဂါ။ဤသွိုင် ၈ ယောက်
- (၁၂)။ ယုတ္တာ။ဤကုဋ်ဒိတကတ်ထွတ်သောနှစ်
- (၁၃)။ အာ။သင်ကန် ၁၂၀ သောကစသောအလှူကြိင
- (၁၄)။ လဒိယိအော်။ပုဟိမဇ္ဈိသောကြာ။ပဏ္ဍိတ်
- (၁၅)။ တုရ်မည်သောစည်ညှင်ညှင်ညှင်လထသောစ
- (၁၆)။ ညိဗိဇိလိုရကာ။စည်ကြိပန်တျာပျံသော
- (၁၇)။ စည်သည်ကာ။ငါသုခါ။ငါမတ။ငါရေန်။
- (၁၈)။ ငါဇုန်ဆုမ်း။ပဿာသည်ကာ။ငါသုရ်မိ။ခွက်
- (၁၉)။ ခွင်သည်ကာ။ငါဇ္ဈ။ကုလာပန်တျာကာ။ပု
- (၂၀)။ လောလိ။စည်သည်ကာ။ငါရုမိ။အာဒိ။မြန်မာ

- (၂၁)။ ပန်တောကားဆို၍ အားဆို၍ ကောင်းဆို၍ ကြို။
 (၂၂)။ စည်သည်ကားငါ့ဇနီးရ။ စည်သည်မိယာကား
 (၂၃)။ ဥမိယန္တိ။ ပရိနာမိ။ ခေဇိ။ ငါမိရိ။ သာဝုလောလိ
 (၂၄)။ နမန္တိ။ ကုတယန္တိ။ ငါစင်။ ဝုတန္တိ။ ငါကြွ
 (၂၅)။ ခ်။ ၂၃ ယောက်။ ညီလိယိရာရာကား။ ဖွတ်
 (၂၆)။ သိပ်ဆို၍ ငြိယိသောကိုးမလိုင် ချင်ရကား။ ဝု
 (၂၇)။ ဟံသွိုင် နှစ်နှိ၍ ယိက္ခောင်နိဗ္ဗိသောသင်္ဘောအာ
 (၂၈)။ ဣသော (၆) တငါလယ်အပါယ် ၃၀၀။ ရံမက်ကျောနိ
 (၂၉)။ အတ္တိန္ဒြေတည်တပ်လွန်လိုင်ရကားဝုဟံသွိုင်
 (၃၀)။ နှင်သင်္ဘောကပ္ပိယိဝါရိမူမိယိငှါဣသောကျောနိ
 (၃၁)။ လေ ၁၀၀။ ထိုင်ကျောနိကာအတိန္ဒြေ

TOUNGGŪNĪ PAGODA INSCRIPTION.

(Date 553 Sakkarāj = 1191 A. D.)

TRANSCRIPTION.

1. sñī tribhavanādityapavaradhammarājā mañ krī amat
2. tyākrī siñghasūr mañ so dāyakā sañ || sañsarā chuiw
3. ñray ca sa kay soh kun rā phlac so sabbaññu mañ
4. so || purhā aphlac kuiw luiw soh kroñ e.
5. sakarac 552 khu tanchonmhun lachan
6. (15) rak sukkarā niy' 3 pahuir 1 nāñi so ā || ||
7. thāpanā so hraw || saruiw pwat so kā sikhañ.
8. mahāther pajjirboddhi || sikhañ kusoradise
9. y || sikhañ aṅgūr || sikhañ mahāpaṇḍit sikha
10. ñ ak || sikha (ñ) dhammakampīr || sikhañ dhammaguru || sikhañ
11. dhamanandī || sikhañ nariṅā || i sikhañ 8 yok
12. hutā || i kū nhañ pitakat lhwat so nhac
13. ā || sañkan 120 so ka ca so alhū krī
14. le piy e' || phurhā ma phlac so krā || pañcaṅga
15. tur mañ so cañ ñihyañ phlañ phlañ nhuiw la tha so ca
16. ñcim luiw rakā || cañkrī pantyā plu so
17. cañsañ kā || ñā sukhā || ñā mata || ñā maran ||
18. ñā phunchum || passā sañ kā || ñā surim || khwak
19. khwañ sañ kā || ñā phlū || kulā pantyā kā || pu
20. lolī || cañsañ kā || ñā rumañ || ādī || mranmā
21. pantyā kā || uiw' ā || uiw' koñ || uiw' krī ||
22. cañsañ kā || ñā phunra || cañsañ miyā kā
23. || umiyandī || parinācī || dewī || ñā riwī || sāpuloli
24. namandī || kutathandī || ñā cuw || putandī || ñā krwa
25. m || 23 yok || phlac liy rā rā kā || mwat
26. sip chuiw ñray so kuiw ma luiw khlyañ rakā || pu
27. rhā sikhañ nhañ' iñ kloñ niy' so sañghā ā
28. lhū so t(e) ñā lay apāy 300 || rañmak kywon

29. aphlac mha teñ taw lhan luiw rakā purhā sikhañ
 30. nhañ sañghā kappiy wār mū ciy nhā lhū so kywon
 31. le 100 || || thuiw kywon kā atī nhe ||

CHAS. DUROISELLE.

EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES.

IV—THE CYCLE OF BURMESE YEAR-NAMES.

My attention having been drawn to the short but interesting article on this subject (under the rather vague heading of "The Burmese Calendar") in Vol. I, Part I, of this Journal, I looked a little into the details of the matter and offer the following observations in the hope that more light may be thrown upon it.

The author of the article tells us that these names are found in old inscriptions, and hence my interest in the subject. Having regard to the fact that inscriptions are often very imperfectly preserved, it is obvious that all data for determining their chronology are most important, and that in cases where for one reason or another there may be a doubt as to the unit figure of the year, its name and place in this cycle might serve to fix it definitely. But on examining the details and directions given by him for that purpose, I find that there are difficulties in reconciling them with the data of actually recorded inscriptions.

I have tested the point by calculating from 28 dates contained in the inscriptions numbered 1, 2, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 23, 26, 29-32, 37-40, 43, 44, 47-9, 52, 319, 331, 341, and 347 of "Original Inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya in Upper Burma and now placed near the Patodawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura" (Rangoon, 1913). Working on the rule given by the author of the article, I find that the result only agrees four times in twenty-eight with the name given in the inscription itself. Either, therefore, his rule is a modern one, not applicable to the older inscriptions (and the dates in my test cases run from 420 to 1145 Burm. Era) or there is something fundamentally wrong with the rule itself—or my working! It appears to work out all right when applied to the century in which the first two of four figures are twelve according to the Burmese reckoning: the author has himself given us an example in his article. But it does not seem to fit earlier dates at all well.

I suspect that there is some flaw in the statement of the rule and that the cycle of year-names is not such a simple thing as the author supposed. When we compare the dates given in the inscriptions Nos. 9, 11, and 13 above referred to, we get the following result:—

Burmese year 464 was an Athān (Āṣāḍha, not Āsvina)	..	4
" " 467 was a Wisseya (Vaisākha)	..	2
" " 469 was a Maga (Māgha)	..	11

Now it is manifestly quite impossible to reconcile these data with the rule given, according to which the year-names should progress regularly and consecutively through the cycle.

Again, according to inscriptions 29 and 30, the Burmese years 512 and 559 were both of them Wisseya years. By the author's rule that could not be, for the difference between them is only 47 years, whereas it should be 48 (four complete cycles) to bring back the same year-name. Further on, inscription 49 makes the year 591 also a Wisseya year, though the difference between it and either of the two preceding dates is not a multiple of 12, i. e. not a set of complete cycles as given by the author. Likewise inscriptions 44 and 48 respectively allege that the year 585 and the year 590 were, each of them, Kyadaik years. By the author's rule neither of them would be, but anyhow not both.

There is something queer here which needs looking into very carefully. Having neither the time nor the information myself, I venture to hope that some one else will take the matter up. It should be possible by analysing the dates given in a large number of old inscriptions, to arrive at the real principle on which this cycle of year-names has been worked. It may have varied from time to time. To me it seems probable that for some reason or other particular years were sometimes expunged. It may be, too, that there are occasional mistakes in the inscriptions, but that alone would not suffice to account for the great preponderance of cases where the inscriptions differ from the results given by the rule.

May I add, in passing, that the author made a slip in saying that these year-names are derived from the names of the signs of the Zodiac? In fact, he must have meant to say "from certain of the nakṣatras, which have also given their names to the Indian lunar months". Their order in the year-cycle is the same as their order in the luni-solar year beginning with Caitra (Burmese Se) and the names correspond pretty closely, in some cases to the Sanskrit, in others to the Pali, forms. Now it appears that in the Indian calendar there is a twelve-year cycle called by these very names, in the same order, and connected with the revolutions of the planet Jupiter. It does not seem, however, that the years correspond: what is a Caitra year by the Indian system is not necessarily a Se year by the Burmese. There may have been originally some connexion between the two systems and they may have drifted apart owing to changes in the methods of calculation made at some time or other, either in India or Burma, or possibly in both countries. Or it may be that the two cycles have different origins altogether. On that point I do not venture to hazard any opinion. What I chiefly desire is an explanation of the Burmese cycle, which will fit the data of the inscriptions and give a working rule applicable to cases where some details in an old date are lost and the year-name would serve to supply them, or where it would confirm a doubtful reading, or enable a date to be strictly verified, and so on. This is not merely a matter of astrological interest or a piece of folklore, though from both these points of view the subject would be deserving of some enquiry: it is also a matter of epigraphical, archaeological, and historical importance, for upon it very fundamental questions of chronology may turn.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

V—KLAÑJO—KYE: ZŪ:

Professor Duroiselle has given a number of reasons in support of his view that the above word in the Myazedi inscription was intended to be pronounced not as it is written but pretty much as if it had been spelt *kyijo*. His arguments are weighty and thoroughly deserve consideration, the more so as the point at issue does not merely concern this one word but fundamentally affects the whole question of the transliteration of Burmese in the oldest inscriptions. In other words, it intimately touches the whole history of the evolution of Burmese phonetics.

Now that, as Professor Duroiselle has rightly indicated, is a subject on which I put forward no claim to speak with any degree of authority; and I should be content to let the matter rest where he has left it, were it not for the fact that in my humble judgment the evidence which he has produced (and which of course I entirely accept) is capable of an interpretation other than the one he has put upon it. For that is a matter on which even a non-expert may legitimately have something to say. If the question at issue concerned the pronunciation of a word in Modern Burmese, I should not venture to offer my opinion. It would be a matter of simple fact, to be ascertained by direct observation on the spot, out of the mouths of living people. But the pronunciation of a word eight centuries ago is quite another thing. Here there can be no direct observation, it is a delicate matter of inference from various lines of evidence. No doubt some weight should properly be attached to the modern pronunciation. But it is only one of many factors that ought to be taken into consideration and it may well be out-weighed by the rest of the evidence. I venture to think that there is even a certain danger that a person intimately acquainted with the modern form of the language may be unconsciously influenced by it to the extent of reading its peculiarities into the older stages, whereas one who knows nothing of either form is less likely to be affected in that way. To me *klañjo* seems just as natural as *kye: zū:*. To Professor Duroiselle the former must appear to be something like a monstrosity, and it is inevitable that he should start with his mind somewhat biassed against it.

The fact remains that *klañjo* is the form that we find written in the oldest inscription available. That much my learned friend concedes: whatever may have been the *phonetic* value, *klañjo* is the *palaeographical* value of the symbols employed. These symbols were undoubtedly used with those values in contemporary Mon inscriptions, translations of the Burmese ones in some cases, using identically the same form of alphabet, a form which is generally supposed to have been introduced into Upper Burma from the Mon country only a few years before these records were made. It would really be somewhat remarkable if, under these circumstances, this alphabet had been used in two fundamentally different ways. Yet that conclusion follows necessarily from Professor Duroiselle's interpretation. We shall see later on whether it is really inevitable.

There are, however, other factors which ought to be considered besides the modern pronunciation and the ancient variations in spelling. For ex-

ample, the representation of the disputed sound in cognate languages and dialects. If it be urged that because conjunct *l* does not occur in modern standard Burmese, therefore its presence in the old inscriptions must be explained away, it is legitimate to ask whether the sound does not occur in closely allied forms of speech. I have no information on the point, except the statement made by Mr. Taw Sein Ko on p. 30 of his *Burmese Sketches*, that the word *kyaung*: (*kyauñ*:), "monastery", is pronounced *klong* (*kloñ*) in the Tavoy dialect of Burmese. If that is correct, as to which I have no means of judging, it would appear that at least one dialect of modern Burmese does use the conjunct *l*. Is this a case of dialectic deviation or is it a piece of conservatism? If the latter, it would support the view that conjunct *l* in the old inscriptions means what it says. Obviously this kind of evidence should be systematically and exhaustively examined before a final conclusion can be attained.

Without wishing to attach much weight to the circumstance, I may point out that the "Pyu" language, which was a relative of Burmese, though not a very near one, also freely used conjunct *l*, and that too in a case like *pli*, "grandchild", where the corresponding modern written Burmese uses conjunct *r*, but old Burmese used *l*.

Professor Duroiselle has, however, brought forward very definite evidence of the interchange in use of conjunct *l* with conjunct *r* in relatively early inscriptions, and he has also shown that the combination *ly* is sometimes used as a conjunct. These are undoubtedly facts to be reckoned with. How can they be explained?

Variability in spelling may be due to several causes. First, mistake: the mere error of the scribe. But to this I should not attach much importance if the cases are numerous and indicate some consistent principle. Next, genuine variability in pronunciation, whether general as regards particular words, or purely individual, or regional, or due to progressive evolution in course of time. These are factors that will have to be considered. Further, there is always the possibility that the sound intended to be represented was not absolutely identical with the sound that the symbol originally stood for in the alphabet from which it was derived. I am disposed to think that the conjunct *l* is a case in point. The use of *ly* in certain cases would seem to point to the possibility of its having sometimes been an *l* "mouillé," rather like the Italian *gl* or the Spanish *ll* (roughly = *ly*). The fact that on the other hand, conjunct *l* in certain cases interchanges pretty frequently with *r*, may be due to the old Burmese *l* not being quite identical with the old Mon *l* but somewhat nearer to *r*. It is to be noticed that Mon does not confuse conjunct *r*, *l* and *y*, but keeps them quite distinct, so the confusion in the old Burmese inscriptions cannot be put down simply to the errors of Mon draftsmen.

I note however that in a Mon inscription from Kyauk-sè, now in my keeping, the name of that place is written *Klok Sa*. Is it to be supposed that the Buddhist monk who drafted that inscription and who had lived at that place long enough to erect and dedicate religious buildings there, as recorded in the document, did not know how his Burmese neighbours pro-

nounced the name of the place he had settled in? Surely not. The only explanation satisfactory to me is that the conjunct sound after the initial *k* sounded to him more like his Mon *l* (though it need not necessarily have been absolutely identical with it) than like his Mon *r* or *y*: otherwise he would presumably have written Krok or Kyok, not Klok.

I am therefore disposed to interpret the data given by Professor Duroiselle somewhat differently in this case from the way in which he interprets them. I incline to the view that conjunct *l* in the oldest Burmese inscriptions represents a sound which was nearly but perhaps not quite the same as the Mon *l*: somewhat nearer to *r* and sometimes palatalized. That it shortly afterwards (13th century) tended to merge into and become confused with *r*, but was retained graphically long after it had ceased to have a separate phonetic existence. As a matter of fact its symbol still survived in the Po: U: Daung inscription of A. D. 1774 (Prome), as an examination of the facsimile of that record plainly shows.

Further, I offer for consideration the following list of words (from Haswell) in which a Mon conjunct *l* corresponds with a modern Burmese *y*, leaving the question open whether these are loanwords from Burmese into Mon, or vice versa, or whether they are from some third, to me unknown, source.

	Mon.	Burmese.
Tiger	ကွ	ကျား
Yam (species)	ကွ	ကျွေး
To leave vacant	ခွန်လင်	ချန်ခိုထားသည်
Tamarind	မင်ဥန်	မန်ကျည်း

This last pair, at any rate, cannot be due merely to fortuitous coincidence.

With the letter *ñ* it may have been much the same story. I venture to suppose that in the 11th. century final *añ* was pronounced pretty well like the *agne* of such French words as *Espagne*, but that the sound was already tending to decay progressively into *ai*, *è*, and eventually *ī*. This would be just as normal and natural a course of evolution as the Mon one whereby (e.g.) *eñ* turns into *an*. If "S. A." in Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 234 of this Journal is to be trusted, the Arakanese dialect in certain cases has —*aing* (—*aiñ*), a somewhat variant development more or less intermediate between the above —*añ* and —*ai*. I also (*ibid.*, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 79) ventured to suggest that the Mon and Burmese pronunciations of the name of Prome might be capable of explanation on the assumption that it was formerly *Prañ*. Each language, working independently on its own lines, would naturally produce the two distinct versions of the name which are now current. And the argument seems to find some measure of support from the following words (from Haswell), which I give for what they may be worth:—

	Mon	Burmese
Order, turn	အလန်	အလှည့်
To bind together	စန်	စည်းသည်
To be able, to stand	တန်	တည်သည်

and a number of cases in which this pair enters as a component: see Haswell,

ss. vv. ကိန်တန်, ဆိက်တန်, ဟိန်, and also:—

Stable, firm တန်ကြံနိ တည်ကြည်သော

Tamarind: (*See above*).

To make a circuit လန်ဂဝဝ် လည်ပတ်သွားသည့်

There seem to be a few more exceptions to Professor Duroiselle's rule, that even in loanwords final *ñ* in Burmese never represents an original *ñ*: witness ချည်: *byañ*: (Pāli *vyañjanam*). And does not the name of the Ari priests, which is generally derived now-a-days from *araññaka*, suggest that the course of evolution in that case was first to *arañ* and ultimately to the form now current? If that could happen in a loanword, it seems not impossible that it might also have happened in native words.

I quite recognize that as soon as these early sounds, represented by *l* and *ñ*, had become confused with *r* and *y*, their symbols would begin to be wrongly used, and such spellings as *vinañ*:, etc., are perfectly explicable on that principle. But neither this nor any other relatively secondary usage can suffice to decide the real point at issue, which is "what were the values of conjunct *l* and final *ñ* in the *earliest* Burmese inscriptions?"

In conclusion, I am free to admit that Professor Duroiselle has made out a very strong case for his views on the subject. I still, however, think that the evidence he has brought forward is not absolutely conclusive, and I venture to hope that the suggestions I have thrown out may lead, indirectly, to the discovery of further evidence, which may eventually decide the matter one way or another. It is largely an epigraphical question, but not entirely. For, let me again point out, that it will not be finally settled until the phonetic evidence of the Burmese dialects and the languages closely related to Burmese has been carefully collected and analysed.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

KLĀÑJO-KYE^s ZŪ^s *¹

Subscript *l* in Burmese.

In Vol. V. Part II, p. 100 of this Journal, I pointed out, basing my argument on epigraphical evidence, that the *l* in the Burmese word *klāñjo* (ကလ္လန္တ) was probably not really an *l*, but only a modification of a *y* or an *r*. Further researches into this matter, in connection with the decipherment and translation of the Burmese face of the Myazedi inscription,*² have convinced me that, in such cases, epigraphical evidence alone is not sufficient; that it is only by a close comparison of the old Burmese forms with those of other Tibeto-Burman languages that we can arrive at a surer estimate of the real value of some letters and obtain an insight into the pronunciation of the language, such as it was spoken seven or eight centuries ago. Such a comparison tends to show that the old Burmese, when writing their inscriptions, wrote phonetically, that is, as they spoke and heard the words spoken; for there is as yet not the least evidence that at that early period, when the Burmese alphabet

*¹. The transliteration of the Burmese words in this paper follows the scheme given on p. 81 *f*.

*². This is now ready for the press.

was only a few years old (barely half a century), and the men who used it visibly grappled with the difficulties of representing correctly certain sounds of their language, there is no evidence that the sharp delimitation between the literary and vulgar forms of Burmese—as it appears some centuries later—was yet known or felt; the literary form could not, as a bald matter of fact, exist, for the simple reason they had yet no literature in the Burmese idiom; they therefore wrote as they spoke.*³ I think the earliest inscriptions stand a good witness to this. Such being the case, it cannot be but admitted that, wherever they wrote a subscript *l*, it was because an *l* was sounded; and some of the words so written, as will be seen from the extract given below,*⁴ are actually pronounced with an *l* in related languages. In Tibeto-Burman languages the letters *l*, *r* and *y* are found widely interchanged from one idiom to another; this phenomenon is found even within the limits of a single language, as for instance in Burmese itself. There is abundant evidence in the inscriptions of the XIth and XIIth centuries that these three letters had a tendency to get confused in pronunciation, hence the occurrence, often even in a single inscription, of the same word written indifferently with an *l*, an *r* or a *y*.

To make the comparisons contained in the following extract easier to follow, the few rules given below will prove useful; further researches will no doubt bring forth more material in support of them, as well as new rules of phonetic correspondence among the languages of the Tibeto-Burman family.

1. The vowels *a*, *u*, *o*, *aw* are found constantly interchanged, as will appear in the words given below. The use, indifferently, of *u* and *o*, even in the same document, is frequent in the earliest Burmese inscriptions.

2. The final nasals are not constant, that is, they interchange their classes in the different groups of the family:

To bet —Burmese ခေဝဇး, *lon*³ (pronounced *laon*³) Tavoyan, *laun*³.

Blossom —Burmese ဂွံ, *pwān*¹ (pron. *pwīn*¹); Tavoyan *pwam*.

Hawk —Burmese ဂွံ, *cwan* (pron. *sun*); Maru, *tsum*.

Room —Burmese ဘခံ, *akhan*²; Tibetan, *khan*.

To delay —Burmese ကြံ, *kan*¹ (pron. *kyan*¹); Tibetan, *kyan*.

To enter —Burmese ဝဇ, *wān* (pron. *win*); Maru *waw*, and also, *waw*, in which the nasal is dropped (see the 3rd rule).

To move from side to side —Burmese ယိမ, *yim*² (pron. *yeñ*²) Tibetan, *yeñs*.

To be defective —Burmese နှံ, *sun*¹; Tibetan *hom*; the interchangeability of *s* and *h* is quite common.

3. Final consonants which appear in one language disappear in another. This is especially the case with Maru and Lolo, which are closely related to Burmese.

*³. But even could they have, at that time, written a literary idiom, they could not but have written it as it was pronounced at that time.

*⁴. As, owing to an unfortunate accident, the Myazedi extract cannot be included in this number, readers are requested to look for it in the following number.—Editor.

(a) Nasals:

- Axe —Burmese ခုဒိန်, *puchin* (pron. pau¹ saign); Tavoyan, *pau si*.
- Head —Burmese ခေါင်း, *Khoñ³* (pron. gaon³); Maru, *au khau* (=Burm. ù³ khoñ³); Lolo, *o ko* (=Burm. ù³ khoñ³); Sifan, *go*; Tibetan *mgo*.
- Cloud —Burmese ဝိဇ, *tim* (pron. tén); Lolo, *té, ti*.
- Wing —Burmese ဝတင်, *ton* (pron. taon); Lolo, *tu, du*.
- To fly —Burmese ချံ, *pyan* (pron. pyan) Lolo, *byo*.
- A fly —Burmese ဝင်, *yan* (pron. yin); Lolo, *yi, ya-mi*: cf. Sifan, *rrān* and Tibetan *sbran-ma*.
- To spy —Burmese ချောင်း, *khyon³* (pron. chaon³); Maru, *chaw*.
- Canal, river —Burmese ချောင်း, *khyon³* (pron. chaon³); Lolo, *yi cho* (=Burm. yé chaon³—ခေချောင်း). The old Burmese was *khlon*. In the extract below, two Tibetan words are given for comparison, *klun* and *chu*; the latter, *chu* is given only as a possible equivalent, though doubtful; the former is more probable.
- Finger —Burmese လက်ချောင်း, *lak khyon³* (pron. lét chaon³); Lolo, *la chu*.

(b) Other consonants:

- To sleep —Old Burmese န္နိ, *ip*; Lolo, *i*.
- To sew —Burmese ချိတ်, *khyup* (pron. chok) Maru *chu*.
- To stop up, plug up, cork —Burmese ချိတ်, *chui¹* (pron. só¹); Maru, *tsup*; Tibetan *sup*.
- To carry —Burmese နှိ, *pui³*; Maru, *bok*.
- Chatty —Burmese ချိတ်, *ui³*; Maru, *uk*.
- Reward —Burmese ချိတ်, *chu*; Tibetan, *sug*.
- Bone —Burmese အရိုး, *arui³* (pron. ayo³) Tibetan *rus*.
- Bad, trouble-some, injurious —Burmese ချိတ်, *chui³* (pron. só³); Tibetan *btsog*.
- To report, announce —Burmese ခြား, *nrā³* (pron. nyā³); Tibetan *snyad*.
- To do, act —Burmese ခြား, *pru* (pron. pyu); Tibetan *spyod*; the old Burmese=*plo* and *phu*.
- To say, speak —Burmese ခြား, *pro* (pron. pyaw); Tibetan *brjod*.
- Rope —Burmese ခြား, *krui³* (pron. kyo³); Tibetan *rgyud*.
4. Final consonants, when not dropped, are soft in one language, and hard in the other.
- Broad cloth —Burmese ဆာလတ်, *sakkalat*; Tibetan *sag-lad*; cf. Malayalam, *shakalathu*.
- To speak loudly, scold —Old Burmese နတ် (still used in ခေါ်နတ်) *nak* (pron. nèt); Tibetan *ñag*, talk.
- Helmet —Burmese မော့တို, *mok tui* and မော့တို, *kha mok*; Tibetan *rmog*.
- Below —Old Burmese ခြား, *Ok*; Tibetan *og*.
- To build —Burmese ဆောက်, *chok* (pron. sáut); Tibetan *sug*.

Paper —Burmese ဝဋ္ဋ, *cak-kū* (pron. sèk-kū); Tibetan *sug-gu*, *sog-gu*; cf. Mosso, *sheu-gu* and Sifan, *shu-gu*.

5. Prefixed consonants are often dropped; examples will have been remarked in the Tibetan equivalents given above. It would be interesting to study the effects on the value, in Burmese, of the consonants remaining after the prefixes have been dropped, as well as on the value of the medial or final vowels. Here are a few more examples:

Cat —Burmese ကြော့, *kron*; Maru, *ron*, *raun*.

Fowl —Burmese ကြာ, *krak*; Maru, *raw*, here the initial *k* is dropped as well as the final; the dropping of the final is very frequent in Maru, and the equivalence: *aw*=Burm. *a*, is regular.

Rat —Burmese ကြာ, *krwak*; Maru, *ruk*, which written in Burmese would be ရာ. The equivalence: *u*, *o*, *w* is also frequent.

River —Burmese မြေ, *mrac* (pron. myit); Maru, *rit*.

The above rules, scanty as they are, will no doubt prove useful when comparing Tibeto-Burman languages with special reference to Burmese and to those dialects which are more closely related to it. As far as I am aware nothing has yet been done to fix the laws—as far as this is possible—that govern the phonetic changes and correspondence of this large family of languages.

CHAS. DUROISELLE.

ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES.

XI—ON ALLEGED CHINESE WORDS IN BURMESE.

Want of time has hitherto prevented me from dealing with Mr. Taw Sein Ko's reply to my former note on this subject and also with Professor Duroiselle's note on one of the alleged Chinese words. But what they have written plainly calls for some remark and it would be a want of courtesy on my part if I did not offer something by way of a rejoinder. I must add that I am, for the present, still unconvinced, and I propose to give reasons for my state of mind on the subject.

As regards the word *Klañjo* or *Kye*: *zū*: I have been in the unfortunate position of being subjected to a cross fire from my two learned opponents. One of them raises doubts whether the ancient form recorded in the inscriptions is at all connected with the modern form, which latter he wishes to derive from Chinese. The other throws serious doubt on the phonetic value of the ancient form, while admitting inferentially (and indeed proving) that, however it may have been pronounced, it is the true ancestor of the modern word. It will be more convenient to reserve the attack on my form *Klañjo* for separate treatment in another note.* With regard to Mr. Taw Sein Ko's objection to my having quoted the Cantonese form of the Chinese word which he believes to be identical with it, it ought, I think, to have been obvious to him that I did so because Cantonese is notoriously one of the most archaic

*See above p. 92 f.—Editor.

(if not the most archaic) of the modern Chinese dialects, so-called (they are really so distinct that they deserve to be styled languages rather than dialects, though they are all of course related together). My object was, as it always should be in linguistic research, to get back to the oldest ascertainable form of the word under discussion.* Of course if it were conceded that the word came into Burmese after 1284 A. D., that point would lose much of its force. But it seems plain, from Professor Duroiselle's note, that the *kye: zū:* of to-day is identical with the *klañjo* (no matter how pronounced) of the Myazedi inscription.

The case between Mr. Taw Sein Kō and myself does not, however, turn upon any one word. His argument, shortly, is that there are in Burmese a considerable number of loanwords from Chinese, and on pp. 30-1 of his *Burmese Sketches* he has given us a list of sixteen of them, by way of a sample. There would be no great objection to that if the case were clear. But it is far from being so. Pretty well half of the words in his list are admittedly words of Indian origin: that is common ground between us. But says Mr. Taw Sein Kō: "It is extremely remarkable that terms intimately connected with Buddhism should have been borrowed by Burma *from China and her translations from Sanskrit*, rather than from Ceylon and her Pāli literature." Now the words "from China" beg the whole question. Admitted that many of these words are from Sanskrit, and not through Pāli, that does not by any means justify the inference that they have passed through the channel of Chinese. Mon also has heaps of such words, so has Khmer, so has Siamese: in all these cases the words are undoubtedly of Sanskrit origin, but there is not the slightest evidence, and very little probability, that they have come into any of these three languages through a Chinese channel. Why should the case *necessarily* be different in Burmese?

There were several Buddhist schools or sects in India that used Sanskrit for their religious language. Not all of them were even Mahayanist; there were Hinayanists among them. Burmese might have got these Sanskrit words direct from Indian monks coming into Upper Burma, or indirectly through Mon. There is no need whatever to assume, nor are we justified on the evidence in assuming, that these words *must* have come into Burmese through Chinese, when they might just as well have come through other channels. Take the word *rahan:* in Burmese: it is found constantly in Mon inscriptions of the 11th. century, spelt *arahan*. Why should it not have come through Mon, if not direct from India? As a matter of fact it is most improbable that this word has entered Burmese from Chinese, for the very reason pointed out by my learned opponent, viz. that the Chinese turn *r* into *l* and pronounce it *lohan*. If they already suffered from this phonetic disability in medieval times, they would have taught their Burmese pupils to say *lohan*, not *rahan:* or *yahan:*, and the word would be *lohan* in Burmese to-day. And similarly with *Si-krā:*, the name of Indra, or any other Indian word containing an *r*: it would be something like a linguistic miracle if the original *r*, after changing into *l* or *i* in the mouths of the Chinese, should again have

*Incidentally it may be noted that Mr. Taw Sein Kō cites an Amoy form in explanation of *Kyaung*, "monastery" (*Burmese Sketches*, p. 30).

become *r* in Burmese. In fact this difficulty by itself is sufficient, so far as such words are concerned, to rule out the hypothesis of derivation through Chinese, unless, and until it is shown that no other derivation was possible or that Chinese at that period pronounced the sound *r*.

Mr. Taw Sein Ko protests against "individual words being taken from from their setting" and criticized singly. That is very well, but each must surely stand on its own merits and answer the linguistic tests that may be applied to it. Let us, however, see what the "setting" amounts to. His leading (and in fact, only) instance consists of the names of the Three Precious Gems of the Buddhist faith. Admittedly this is about as strong a case as could have been selected, for the three words in question constantly appear together in the same context. If that alone were enough to prove their origin from a common source, no instance could have been better chosen with a view to support the contention. But, in the first place, I am by no means satisfied that the Burmese *Phu-rā*: and *Ta-rā*: are really of Chinese origin, so the fact that they are associated with *Saṅgha* does not convince me that the latter has come into Burmese through Chinese. In the former words there is the same difficulty about the sound *r* that I have already commented on, besides other phonetic difficulties which would have to be discussed in detail before the identity of these words with their Chinese equivalents could be regarded as *proved*.* But the whole argument, so far as it is based on the words being used frequently together, strikes me as being exceedingly thin. If the Pegu chronicles (edited by Schmidt) say (p. 28) *ñow kyāk ñow dhaw ñow sañ*, "revere the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha", that does nothing to raise the presumption that *kyāk* is a word of Indian origin like the other two. We have, on the contrary, very strong reasons for believing that it is pure Mon-Khmer (for it occurs in slightly different forms in other Mon-Khmer languages, such as Bahnar and Stieng), and we can find no Indian derivation for it.

Such arguments really prove nothing at all as to the *source* and *origin* of words. In all languages that have to any extent been subject to foreign influence, foreign words are apt to be used together with native ones in the same contexts freely enough.

That is all I think I need say at present about the words of Indian origin in Mr. Taw Sein Ko's list. The Indian origin may be agreed,† but the onus lies on Mr. Taw Sein Ko (I submit) to show that they reached Burmese through the Chinese language, and not otherwise. It can hardly be done by merely pointing to their associations in use with words the Chinese origin of which is, to say the least, equally doubtful.

With regard to the non-Indian words, the case is more difficult to deal with. I have neither the time nor the competence to delve deeply into the

*Moreover there are other Chinese transcriptions of *Buddha* and *dharma* besides the ones given in *Burmese Sketches*. The one of *Buddha* embodies an honorific "lord" (or "father") which is not part of the essence of the name at all. Also the Burmese *phu-rā*: is not strictly equivalent as it applies to other worshipful persons and objects, not merely to Buddhas.

†I am not at present prepared to accept an Indian derivation for *phu-rā*: or *ta-ra*: but as to *Saṅgha* there can be no doubt, of course.

comparative philology of Chinese and Burmese. I would merely point out again that this is a *necessary preliminary* to any conclusion derived from the resemblance of a Chinese word with a Burmese word of somewhat similar sound and sense. And here I may be allowed to disclaim Mr. Taw Sein Ko's rather scathing remark that my criticism of his list merely "demolishes a theory or fabric and offers nothing in its place". We are all, as members of this Society and contributors to its Journal, first and foremost, seekers after truth: we are not so much concerned to be in the right ourselves as to contribute, it may be by criticism or in some other way, to the advancement of research and the discovery of new facts. Now it is something to point out the weaknesses of a theory from which conclusions, unwarranted as they seem to me by the evidence, have been rather hurriedly drawn by any learned friend and fellow member. For to expose the deficiencies of one method will sometimes suffice to suggest the adoption of a better one; and certainly the arranging of Burmese and Chinese words in parallel columns is not the only or the best conceivable method of proving the point at issue. But I quite see that I should not rest content with merely having thrown some measure of doubt upon my friend's mode of procedure, and I will therefore try to indicate as briefly as possible what should be put in its place.

When one sets about to compare the vocabularies of two languages, it is essential to put the whole thing on a strictly scientific basis. It is not enough to pick out a word here and there and compare them. I have already in my former note drawn attention to the pitfalls that await such a method. The resemblances discovered may be merely fortuitous, or the words may be derived from some common foreign stock (like the Indian words discussed above), or they may go back to a common native stock (if the two languages under comparison are ultimately related), or they may be loan words, from the one language to the other, but one cannot tell from which to which. No certainty is achieved by such a method. What, then, is the proper procedure?

In the case of Burmese and Chinese, it will be necessary, in the first place, to study historically every single sound of the Burmese language, trace its history in the old inscriptions, compare it with its equivalents in the other Tibeto-Burman languages, first in the groups that are most closely related to Burmese, and then in those that are more remotely connected with it, until at the end of all this research we arrive at the laws governing the correspondence or equivalence of each individual sound in the language with the corresponding ones in the cognate languages and dialects, and so may be enabled to infer what was the most ancient ascertainable value of each such sound. Then the same thing must be done for Chinese; and lastly we must endeavour to discover what ancient Chinese sounds correspond with what ancient Burmese or Tibeto-Burman ones. And as these languages are toned, we must take due account of the correspondence in tones as well. In the end, the laws governing the correspondence of Chinese sounds with Burmese ones will have to be formulated, and an etymology will stand or fall according as it fits in or fails to fit in with those laws.

I shall be told that such a procedure is long and tedious. I admit it, but I reply that it is the *only* method that will lead us to a sure and certain

conclusion. It is the method that has been applied with such conspicuous success to all the families of speech that have been seriously studied hitherto, and especially the Indo-European one. The science of comparative phonetics lies at the root of all etymology and of comparative linguistics in general. Apart from it, etymology can never rise higher than to be a mere series of more or less probable guesses. To put the case shortly, my criticism on Mr. Taw Sein Ko's method is that it leads nowhere: his conclusions may be right or wrong, but we have no means, on his lines, of testing the point. All remains mere theory: but we want facts supported by evidence. And that was why I ventured to suggest that for the present, at any rate, the conclusions he has sought to draw from the resemblance of certain Burmese words with certain Chinese ones, are (to say the least) decidedly premature.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

XII—THE DERIVATION OF THE WORD "PROME."

Sometime ago, in the pages of this Journal, there appeared a spirited controversy on the above subject between my learned friends, Mr. C. Duroiselle and U Shwe Zan Aung, B. A., A. T. M. My desire is not to enter into the merits of that controversy, but to contribute my own quota to that fund of knowledge, which the Burma Research Society is anxious to accumulate.

At pages 19-20 of my "Burmese Sketches", I have derived the word "Prome" from "Brohm", a Talaing word signifying "Brahm" or "Brahma", and stated that, in Cambodian, Brahma is called *Prohm*. In Bengal, Burma is known as "Brahmodesh", which, in Pali, assumes the form "Brahmadesa".

The Burmans have a saying: ပြည်စပ်ပျဉ်း ပြီ i. e. "If a person is a native of Prome, he is of Pyu descent". The word ပြည် (pronounced Pyī) signifies a town, city, or capital, and is the Burmese equivalent of the Pali word ဝုဗ္ဗ which Burmans often write as ပုဗ္ဗ as in ခုဗ္ဗလူ. The final nasal, ဖ and ဖ, being interchangeable, I am inclined to think that the word ပြည် represents the Talaing word ပြီ which is pronounced *prawn* and signifies "Brahma". The Lü and Khün of Kengtung, the Lao of Chiangmai, and the Siamese talk of *Hpra-In* and *Hpra Pawm*, who are, no doubt, Indra and Brahma, and whose appellations are derived from the Talaings.

In the traditions attached to the Po-wun-daung in the Chindwin Valley and to Halingyi in the Mu Valley, the ပြီစင်၊ ပြီစင် (i. e. the Pyu rulers and Prom rulers) are often mentioned. A tribe called the P'iao, Piu, or Pyu, is mentioned in the Chinese annals of the T'ang dynasty of the 7th century A. D. The third King of Pagan, who reigned from 167-242 A. D., is called, in Burmese history, as "Pyu-saw-ti" or the "Princely Ruler of the Pyu tribe". Coming to still earlier times, that is, the first century A. D., we find that the tribes under the monarchy at Prome or Srikshestra were the Pyu, Thet and Kanran, and that a civil war arose among them. The Pyu fought among themselves and separated into two parties. "One division having occupied the hilly district to the south-east of Prome (i. e. Taungnyo), was attacked by the Talaings, and then crossed the great river into the country west of Padaung. There they were attacked by the Kanran as intruders.

into land already occupied, and were driven north to Mendun (Mindôn). They retired further north, then crossing the Irawadi under their leader Thamuddarit, said to be nephew to Thupinya, arrived at a place on the river-bank called Yunhlutguen (Yonhlut-Kyun). Near to this the city of Pagan, called new Pagan, was founded. Thirteen years had been occupied in the wandering of the tribe. After this period, the separate tribes are seldom mentioned, except in ancient ballads, and the name Mrammā appears as the national designation for all".*

Now, Taungnyo, Padaung, and Mindôn are still the habitat of the tribes of the Chin or Thet race, and the fugitive Pyus appear to have found an asylum among the people of a cognate or Tibeto-Burman race. The site of Pagan was occupied by the people of the Pyu race, and Thamôkdayit or Thamuddarit became the Supreme Ruler of a Confederacy of 19 Pyu villages. The name "Pagan" itself seems to be derived from "Pu (Pyu) gāma", i. e. the village of the Pyus.

The word ပြ in the expression ပြဝဏ် appears to be identical with Prom or Prohm, which is another form of the word "Brahma". It would, therefore, seem that the words ပြ and ပြ in Burmese, are the counterparts of ပြ and ပြ † (=ပြ pronounced Bröm) in Talaing, that they are all identical in meaning, and that they signify the "Brahma" of "Brahmodesh" or "Brahma desa", which eventually becomes the "Mramma-desa" of the Kalyāni Inscription at Pegu, and of earlier or later epigraphs.

Mr. Duroiselle has kindly furnished me with the following Note on the subject of the controversy:

Dear Mr. Taw Sein Ko—"You ask me to give you some suggestions and criticisms on your note about the 'Derivation of the word "Prome".' What I am sending you are merely suggestions; the question is looked at from several standpoints, as such questions always should be, but without inclining towards one view rather than the other; I simply posit the question under its several aspects, as I think it should first be examined, before coming to a final decision on the point.

1. "The subject of controversy is really the word *Prome*, its derivation, its origin. The derivation of ပြ (pyī) is of subsidiary importance and has been drawn into the discussion merely because it happens to be one of the appellations of Prome.

2. "Some derive the word "Prome" from ပြ, *Prom*, basing themselves on the undeniable similarity of the two words. Others from *Bramha*, which in Talaing becomes ပြ pronounced Bröm, similarly basing themselves on the close identity of sound; the modern Talaing name of the city, however, being ပြ (pron. *prawn*) and not Bröm.

3. "We do not know the meaning of ပြ in ပြဝဏ်. The Halingyi traditions do not point out to the name ပြ as being that of a city, but rather, read without "prejugés" it points out to its being an ethnical name, as

* Pages 18-19, Phayre's *History of Burma*.

† In the Talaing legend on one of the plaques found at the Ananda Pagoda, Pagan Brahma" is called "Bruhma," the vowel *u* being interchanged for the vowel *a*.

much as 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰, Prū; if we read correctly the Halingyi traditions, it can be easily gathered the 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰 and the 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰 were very closely connected; were, in fact probably, two branches of the same original tribe; these traditions naively hint at this by saying that, at the time of the Powun-daung occurrence, 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰 and 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰 were brothers. If the old city has been called 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰 it may be owing to the 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰—𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰 living thereabout.

"The above view of the matter is not, I think, to be relegated to the domain of imaginary musings, and you practically accept it without perhaps having gauged its full import in your phrase " (i. e., the Pyu rulers and Prom rulers)," that is, really, "the Pru-Prom rulers." This view merits the closest attention and investigation, rejecting, ab ovo, any subtle influence due to previous and long arrived at conclusions.

4. "The difficulties of the derivation of Prome, are not got over so easily as might at first sight be thought. Let us put aside all preconceived judgements.

(a). "Prome" is derived from 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰. If 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰 is an ethnical name, it does not come from *Bramha*, and therefore Prome is not a form of *Bramha*.

(b). If we accept that 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰 is derived from *Bramha*, we must then prove it is not an ethnical name; for if it was *not* an ethnical name, but that of the old city, we shall have to show cause why *Prome* is persistently ignored by the Chinese, pilgrims and others, who always call it by a name which is phonetically the equivalent of Sarekhetarā (Crisketra); why also Burmese

epigraphs, till after the end of the 13th century, know for it no other name but that of Sarekhetarā. And lastly we shall also have to show why *Prome* (in Burmese would be 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰 or 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰—𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰) is perfectly unknown to the Burmese themselves as a place-name, either of the old or of the new city. To the old Talaings likewise, this old city, as far as it has been possible to ascertain, was known only as Sarekhetarā and by a derivative of this name.

(c). From what precedes, it might be deduced that "Prome" never was the name of the old city, but only that of younger one, some six miles away from it. The form *Prome*, seems to have originated with the early Europeans who came to Burma; I think it is found first in Pinto, in the middle of the 16th century, and he writes it "Prom." They may have taken it from the Talaing 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰 (prawn).

(d). The name *Bramho* in Bramhodesh is, of course Indian; it would regularly become 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰, Bröm, in Talaing, and certainly not 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰 in Burmese. The early Europeans might have formed Prome from Bramhodesh. "Bramhodesh" in Talaing would become 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰 (rah Bröm)—*Bramha-rāshtra*.

(e). The name 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰 (pyī) dates only from 1286 A. D.; it can be proved that, whatever the original value of 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰, 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰, in a much earlier stage of the language, its value at the beginning of the 12th century was already 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰, 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰, and 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰. Such being the case, we must assume that 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰 in 1286 was pronounced *pyī* or *pyè* or *both*. The Thamains and histories register a tradition (how far are we to believe it?) that the new city was so called because the envoy of Thehathu, one 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰 or 𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰 (pro. Gna Pyi), laid it out under orders from the prince. This old tradition, on whatever basis resting, shows by its very existence that the Burmese at least saw no association whatever be-

tween their name for Prome and the god Brahma. Any way, if ပြည် is pronounced *pyī*, *pyé*, then the Talaing ပြ် has nothing to do with it. It is remarkable that, for *Bramha*, the Talaing word is ပြ်(ပြ်) pronounced *bröm*, and not ပြ်. The word in Burmese would be ပြ် and not ပြ်. The *m* in *Bramha* is not to be overlooked.

(f). The regular and constant name of Burma, မြာ in Pāli is: *Maramma*, a mere transcription; you have yourself, in the last report, thrown doubt on the word မြာ=Bramha. The first part of the word is evidently a tribal appellation as is proved by the name for the Burmese among many tribes.

(g). You ask me whether a form ပြ် is found at the Ananda. Yes, one Ananda plaque bears the following legend: ငါးစုံ ပြ်လူနီ—*Wo' Bramha lu In*—"This (represents) Bramha and Indra." The Talaings from this, could make ပြ်, pronounced as written: *brüm*, but have never used this form at all, the usual form being ပြ်, *bröm*; of course, the one might come from the other; but I doubt very much if they would make ပြ် from ပြ်.

To sum up:

(1). It should be first ascertained whether ပြ် (in ပြ်) is an ethnical name or a form of Bramha.

(2). If it be an ethnical name, then "Prome" is not a form of Bramha, supposing it to come from ပြ်.

(3). "Prome" may also have been derived either from the Talaing, ပြ် or the Bengali Bramhodesh, by the early Europeans; on the face of it, it seems the more likely derivation is ပြ်; but the Portuguese and others were in constant relations with Indians, and Bramhodesh as a possible source must not be put aside. This line of research is all indicated: a perusal of the documents left by the early Europeans who came to Burma.

(4). Supposing the Talaing name Prawn (ပြ်), to mean "Bramha," why did the Talaings, who for centuries and now still know Bramha as "Bröm" (ပြ်), call the god by one name, and his city by another which, strictly according to Talaing phonetics, is not a derivation of Bramha?

(5). Again, if the Burmese ပြ် (pron. *pyī*, *pyé*) = Prome = Bramha, how is it they chose for the city a name which, by any rule of Burmese phonetics, can not be a derivative of Bramha? for, according to their phonetics, *Bramha* might become ပြ် (bram), but not ပြ်.

"So that we see this curious anomaly that both the Talaings and the Burmese have chosen for this supposed "City of Bramha," a name by which neither know the god. Phonetic decay? perhaps. But in every language—and so in these two also—so-called phonetic decay follows pretty regular rules which can to a great extent be codified; there are exceptions to rules. so ပြ် and ပြ် may be exceptions; they may; but if so they are, above all in the case of ပြ်, violent exceptions.

"The above suggestions, jotted down as they occurred to me, do not throw directly much light on the subject of your note; they are simply sug-

gestions on some interesting points of etymology and phonetics, intended to draw discussion on the point in question and thereby throw light on it."

TAW SEIN KO.

BURMESE EQUIVALENTS FOR TERMS CONNECTED WITH AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE.

NOTE BY MR. TAW SEIN KO.

(The following extract from a letter* of Mr. Taw Sein Ko to Mr. Clayton, a copy of which was sent me, may be of interest. Mr. Taw Sein Ko has kindly agreed to its publication.

In order that discussion on this subject may not be cumbered with misunderstandings, it may be well to point out that the pupils for whom terms have to be devised will as a rule be cultivators ignorant of English. I venture to think, therefore, that, wherever possible, transliteration of Latin terminology is to be avoided. Thus, having a Burmese word for sulphur in common use, it would retard a pupil's progress if we asked him to learn of သစ်ပင်အာရုံ acids.

J. A. S.)

Page 2 "To manure" should be rendered as မြေဩဇာကြွေးသည် as decided by the Committee. For manure, the noun, I am inclined to render မြေဩဇာ simply, as a generic term. "Cattle manure" will be နောက်ချေး မြေဩဇာ I would reserve အဟာရ to be used as သစ်ပင်အဟာရ "plant food." The term ဓါတ်စာ means rather a special diet than a "tonic." In order to secure the currency and general acceptance of these terms, we should depart, as little as possible, from the signification generally assigned to them in the Burmese language.

Decomposition—ဝိကုတိ I would prefer ကြေပျက်ခြင်း "Cattle manure is useful after decomposition"—နောက်ချေးမြေဩဇာသည်ကြေပျက်ပြီးမှအကျိုးရှိသည်အသုံးဝင်သည်။

Soluble and insoluble ingredients in manure—မြေဩဇာတွင် အရည်ရောနှိုင်း မရောနှိုင်းသောဝတ္ထု။ Perhaps, အရည်ရော is better than အရည်လည်။ The word ရောသည် means to mix, to be soluble. The word လည် means to circulate, to go round.

Plant food in manure, I would render as မြေဩဇာတွင်ပါရှိသောသစ်ပင်အဟာရ။

Artificial manure, I would render as ပဝတ္ထိမြေဩဇာမျိုးပကဋိ or ဇာတိ natural is opposed to ပဝတ္ထိ artificial. Natural gold is ပကဋိရွှေ or ဇာတိရွှေ; Artificial gold is ပဝတ္ထိရွှေ။

Manures supply plant food and organic matter, alter soil texture and affect soil reaction may be translated as:—မြေဩဇာကြွေးခြင်းသည်သစ်ပင်အဟာရကိုပေး၊ သမ္မိဝတ္ထုကိုပေး၊ ဖျားပွားစေတတ်သည်။ မြေသားပြောင်းလဲစေတတ်သည်။ မြေသတ္တိကိုလည်းပေး၊ ဖျားပွား (or ထ) စေတတ်သည်။

Inorganic matter is ဒိုမိဝတ္ထု။ Organic matter is သမ္မိဝတ္ထု။ and not သမ္မိဝတ္ထု။

* The letter being dated 21st November 1915, it is clear that Mr. Taw Sein Ko wrote the article before U Shwe Zan Aung's criticisms on the subject appeared in the Journal, Vol. VI, Pt. I, April 1916.—Editor.

Drainage is ရေဖွဲ့ခြင်း and a drain is ရေဖွဲ့မြောင်း. The word ခွတ်သည် means to extract, to withdraw, while ဖွဲ့သည် means to divert. Surplus water in a marshy land is drawn off or diverted (ဖွဲ့) elsewhere.

Aeration of soil should be လေသလင်းစေခြင်း which will be better understood than လေသွင်းခြင်း.

Page 3, Soil components. Physical classification should be ဝတ္ထုအားဖြင့် ဖြေမျိုးခွဲဝေပိုင်းခြားခြင်း. The word သမုတ် means to give merely a name or nomenclature; ခွဲဝေပိုင်းခြားခြင်း means to divide a body and differentiate its constituent parts. E. g. ထိုရာဇာဌာနိက အမရပူရမြို့ဟု ခေါ်ဝေါ်သမုတ်ကြသည်. ထိုကွင်းမြို့မြေများကို ဖြေစေးနုနုနှင့် ခြုံငုံသဖြင့် ခွဲဝေပိုင်းခြားပြီးဖြစ်သည်.

Organic constituents should be သမီးဝတ္ထု and not သဟမီးဝတ္ထု.

Acid, alkaline, Neutral. The word ချဉ် is opposed to မျို sweet, and ငန် salt or brackish. E. g. မျိုချဉ်ရသာ. ရေ Water impregnated with alkaline salts, as that of Mandalay, is called ရေငန် as opposed to the water of the Irrawaddy river, which is ရေမျို.

The word ခွဲ is never opposed to ချဉ်. A popular and intelligible phonetic couplet would be ဖြေချဉ်-ဖြေငန် for "acid soil" and "alkaline soil." Both in chemistry and astrology, the term ဥပါသိနိ is used for "neutral." It should, by all means, be adopted.

Page 5. Pervious soil is ဖြေပွေ *and impervious soil is* မြေကြပ်ကြပ်တည်းမြေ

Bacteria should be သက်ခွံအလွှားအမွှား.

Protozoa should be သက်မြိအလွှားအမွှား.

Nowadays, အလွှားအမွှား is better understood than အလှူအလွှား.

Fermentation is ကစေ ပေါက်သည်. E. g. ထမင်းသိုး တင်းသိုး ကို နေရက် ရှည်ကြာ ပေါင်းရထားလျှင် ကစေပေါက်တတ်သည်. ထန်းလျက်ကို ရေမိမ့်ခွံကြာကြာထားလျှင် ကစေပေါက်တတ်သည်.

Here the process of decomposition is characterised by fermentation (ကစေ ပေါက်သည်) in each case.

Assimilation of plant food should be အစာကြေခိုင်းပွားခြင်း. The expression အစာကြေသည် means only to digest and does not involve the idea of growth or assimilation.

Page 6. Element is မူလဓါတ် or သုဒ္ဓါဓါတ်

Compound is မိသကဓါတ်.

Solution should be အရည်ရောခြင်း instead of အရည်လည်ခြင်း.

Page 6, Names of some elements. The four elements, according to ancient nomenclature, are: ပထဝီ earth, တေဇော fire, အာပေါ water, and ဝါယော air. If *Oxygen* and *Hydrogen* are to be respectively called တေဇောဓါတ် and အာပေါဓါတ် why should *Nitrogen* not be called ဝါယောဓါတ်? The term ယမီးမိမီးဓါတ် does not appear to fit in properly. In like manner, I think *Carbon* should be called ပထဝီဓါတ် instead of မီးသွေးဓါတ်.

Page 7, Scheme of salt and acid formation. Nitrogen should be ဝါယောဓါတ် and Carbon ပထဝီဓါတ်. These two terms have been embedded in the Burmese language, and should be revised like တေဇောဓါတ် and အာပေါဓါတ်.

A Correction.

အမှားအမှန်ပြင်ဆင်ရန်အကြောင်း။

မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတော်၊ မြန်မာသုတေသနအသင်းကထုတ်ဝေသောမဂ္ဂဇင်း။ ဆက္ကမ-အုပ်။ ပဌမ
ပိုင်း၊ ပြီလထုတ်စာအုပ်။ ဇွန်နှာနံပါတ်- ၃၃-ကစ၍-၃၆-အထိ၊ ရေးသားဖော်ပြအပ်သော။ မဟာ
ဇနကဗျူ၊ လင်္ကာအဓိပ္ပါယ်ပြစကားရပ်တွင်။ “သင်္ဘော”-ဟုပါရှိသမျှနေရာတို့မှာ “သင်းပေါ” ဟူ၍
ပြင်ဆင်တတ်ရှုစေလိုပါသည်။ ဤသို့ပြင်ဆင်ရခြင်း၏အကြောင်းမှာအောက်ပါအတိုင်းဖြစ်ပါသည်။

မဟာဇနကဇာတ်အဋ္ဌကထာ၌၊ လွှေတော-နာဝါ-သဒ္ဓါဖြင့်ပင်ပြဆို၏။ အဘိဓာန်ကျမ်း-ပါ
တာလဝဂ်၌ကား။ “တရုဏီတရိနာဝါစ-ဟူ၍၊ လွှေ-တောပရိယာယ်-၃-ပုဒ်ကို ပြုပြီးနောက်မှ။
ပေါတောပဝဟဏံဂုတ္တံ-ဟူ၍သင်းပေါတောပရိယာယ်-၂-ပုဒ်ကိုအသီးအခြားပြဆိုပြန်သည်။ ။
၎င်းအဘိဓာန်စကားတို့၏အနက်ကား။ “တရုဏီ၊ လွှေ၊ တရိ၊ လွှေ၊ နာဝါ၊ လွှေ။ ပဝဟဏံ၊ အ
ထူးရွက်ဆောင်နိုင်သောဝတ္ထုကိုကား။ ပေါတော၊ ပေါတ-ဟူ၍၊ ဂုတ္တံ၊ ဆိုအပ်၏။

ဤကဲ့သို့အဘိဓာန်လာ-ပေါတ-သဒ္ဓါတွင်။ ကောင်းခြင်းအနက်ဟော-သံ-သဒ္ဓါကို အရင်းက
ထည့်၍။ သံပေါတ-ဟုပါရှိတာသာကိုများစွာ အသုံးပြုလုပ်လေ့ရှိကြသောသီဟိုဠ်ကျွန်းသား များ
က။ ဦးစွာခေါ်ဝေါ်သုံးစွဲခြင်းပြုကြလေသည်။ ထိုသို့သုံးစွဲခြင်းပြုကြောင်းကိုလည်း။ ၎င်းသီဟိုဠ်ကျွန်း
ကပေးသောသဒ္ဓေသကထာများကိုတွေ့မြင်ဘူးသဖြင့်သိရပေသည်။

မြန်မာလူမျိုးတို့ကလည်း။ ထို-သံပေါတ-ဟူသောပါဠိတာသာသို့လိုက်၍ပင်။ သင်းပေါ-ဟု
ခေါ်ဝေါ်ပညတ်ခြင်းပြုကြ၏။ သို့ဖြစ်၍-သင်္ဘော-ဟုမရေးသားဘဲ။ -သင်းပေါ-ဟုရေးသား ခြင်း
သာလျှင်ပါဠိတာသာနှင့်လိုက်လျောညီညွတ်လေသည်။ ယင်းသို့ညီညွတ်သည်ဖြစ်၍ဦးစွာ၊ မဟာဇ
နကဗျူ၊ အခြေစကားနှင့်စပ်လျဉ်းရေးသားပေးပို့လိုက်စဉ်အခါကပင်။ ၎င်းအတိုင်းရေးသားပေးပို့
လိုက်ပါလျှက်။ စာအုပ်တွင်-သင်္ဘော-ဟုပါသာတွေ့ရှိရသောကြောင့်။ ယခုထပ်မံပြင်ဆင်ချက်ရေး
သားလိုက်ပါသည်။

ဆရာလင်း။

POINTS OF CONTROVERSY

(FROM THE PALI OF THE KATHĀVATTHU.)

BY SHWE ZAN AUNG, B. A., AND MRS. RHYS DAVIDS, M. A.

(*Pali Text Society, 1915*).

This is a translation from the Kathāvatthu of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Traditionally the compilation of the Kathāvatthu was completed at the convocation of the third Buddhist council at Patna held in 246 B. C., the heads of the discourses having been drawn up by the Buddha himself in anticipation of the schisms that would occur in the Faith. The president of the Council, Tissa, Moggali's son is represented as having read the completed work to the assembly. The Kathāvatthu is thus unique in Pali literature as the only work, where a single man is given as the author and of which the date is definitely known.

Whatever its traditional value may be, the Kathāvatthu, as we have it, is a most important contribution to early Buddhism, as it is a record of the

various subjects of controversy that took place between the faithful and the heretical, together with the orthodox decision almost on every subject. These controversial points were discussed in a way that at once reveals the queer dialectic of the ancient Arahants and form an interesting logical study. On page xl viii, Mr. S. Z. Aung has represented the dialectic symbolically and has instituted parallels between it and western logic. Buddhism thus can boast of a logic of its own if it be only to satisfy certain philosophers who maintain that "logic, instead of being, as formerly, the bar to possibilities, has become the great liberator of the imagination, presenting innumerable alternatives which are closed to unreflective common sense, and leaving to experience the task of deciding, where decision is possible, between the many worlds which logic offers for our choice" (The Hon. Bertrand Russell, *the Problems of Philosophy*, p. 231). There are in Buddhism general propositions like *All conditioned things are unreal*, as well as atomic propositions like *This is Ill*, while the discussion of the disputants in the Kathāvatthu turns upon what Mr. Russell calls molecular propositions, such as *If A is B, then C is D*.

[In the symbolical representation on p. xlviii, some lines have been inadvertently omitted. We insert them at the request of the author.

After the 13th line on p. xlix of Prefatory notes *insert* the following:—

(§ 2) *Opp.* Is A not—B?

Adh. Yes.

Opp. Is C not—D?

Adh. No. (C is D).

Opp. If A is not—B, then C is not—D.

That B cannot be affirmed of C, but D can be of C, is false. Or according to European logic:—

If A is not—B, C is not—D. (But C is D.)

Therefore A is B.

In thus refuting the Adherent's first answer in this section by this direct method, the opponent's first answer in § 1 is re-established.

Next:—

Opp. If D cannot be denied of C, then B cannot be denied of A.

That B can be denied of A, but D cannot be of C, is false. Or according to European logic:—

If C is D, A is B. (But A is not B.)

Therefore C is not D.]

The translators have given the first Book as it is in the original, so that those who are not Pali scholars may be able to get an idea of the dialectical weapon wielded by the ancient Buddhists. It is noteworthy that the book opens with the discussion of the well-known theory of the Soul, as is the case with the Milindapañhā. One of the merits of the translation is the inclusion in each controverted point of an appropriate excerpt from the commentary, which, by giving the orthodox view, acts like the key-note, when the theme is sometimes lost amidst the conflicting inferences voiced by the disputants. By keeping the commentarial guide in mind, one knows which party it is orthodox doctrine to side with. For instance, the reader may very well doubt the orthodoxy of the view that material qualities are

results of karma. The commentary tells him that some heretics hold that, just as consciousness and its concomitant attributes arise because of karma that has been wrought, so also do material qualities arise as results of karma. From this it is clear that the point under controversy is not orthodox. In the remaining twenty-two books the translators have wisely parted from the puzzling diction of the original which has bewildered some Burmese monks, traditionally the greatest Abhidhamma scholars in Buddhist countries, and have given us the subject-matter in as clear a manner as logical thought and lucid expression could make it. They have thus not only retained the antiquarian interest of the work but have also clothed it in a garb prescribed by modern requirements. And wherever occasion arises parallels have been instituted between the ancient Buddhist philosophy and modern logical thought.

The points of controversy which form the subject matter of the *Kathāvatthu* are of vital importance to every Buddhist, who finds in them the orthodox decision upon many points, which must needs be doubtful to him, as Buddhism rightly professed entails a very high system of ethics beyond the comprehension of the average man. The subjects of discourse, that is to say, which caused so much division among the clergy in the third century B. C. still form subjects of doubt to every right-minded Buddhist, who is not yet endowed with the brilliant intellect of an arahant. And so wide is the range of subjects discussed in the *Kathāvatthu* that there cannot be many questions which could be raised and decided without reference to it. Two other works, outside the canon, indeed, have acquired importance as works of reference on doctrinal points and philosophical development, but the *Kathāvatthu* surpasses the *Milindapañhā* and the *Visuddhimagga* by its wider range and fuller treatment, not to speak of the unique position it occupies in the canon.

Let us make a study of one out of the many doctrinal points in the *Kathāvatthu*. The average man ordinarily believes in the working of karma so implicitly as to attribute to its action any experience that he meets with. A slight mishap befalls him and straightway his bad karma is blamed. He meets with a piece of good fortune and thankfully he praises his good karma. Now although it requires a nice judgement to ascertain the results of karma in individual cases, the broad principles by which it is governed should not be overlooked. The *Kathāvatthu* tells us that at the time of the third council, there were such heresiæ as "land" is the result of karma and "sound" is the result of karma. We learn, however, that "result of karma" is a term applying to mental states only, but not to material and external things, such as land and sound are. It "is essentially a subjective phenomenon, subjective experience, emotional and intellectual." *p. 266, note 3.* The wealth, for instance, of a millionaire is not a specific result of karma, but the pleasure derived from such well-being is. Again, do not people generally attribute to karma most of the deaths that take place out of the natural course? When a man dies of wilful starvation, and his Karma is blamed, we are losing sight of the working of the physical order (*utu*), which regulates a man's physical nature. A Burmese saying has it:

Accuse not thy Karma, where the tiger is bold;
Believe not in Karma, and tread on thorny wold.

Moreover, we read that the Andhakas and certain of the Uttarāpathakas hold that all Karmas are inflexible. This, we imagine, is exactly the view of the average man, who would be shocked to think that an action was not followed by its result. But Karmas are liable to be counteracted and deflected, compounded and annulled in what might be called the "composition of moral forces" (p. 386). And there are only two uniformities in Nature or Niyamas, of which the result is absolutely assured, *vis.*: (a) the Intuition of the Path, by which the Path-winner is assured of final salvation and (b) the five Heinous Crimes. The five Niyamas, *Utu*, *Biṇa*, *Kamma*, *Citta* and *Dhamma*, which Ledi Sadaw has explained in his Expositions in the *Buddhist Review*, October 1915, are not true Niyamas, in that they are only morally certain but not absolutely so.

Such are the important lessons we have learnt about Karma. We have also learnt equally interesting things about various other subjects discussed in the book. But so wide is the range that it would make a volume as big as the *Kathāvatthu* itself were we to treat them adequately. Such subjects as whether a layman may be an arahant, the four noble truths, whether space is visible, whether speech conforms to thought, murder and so on are tempting. Suffice it to say that no one should consider himself a Buddhist scholar unless he has made a careful study of the *Kathāvatthu*. A glance at the table of contents, aided by a judicious use of the Indices is all that is required to get at the treasures deposited in the book. We would suggest, in passing, that the adjective "Ambrosial" be replaced by "Death-less" as an epithet for *amata*, which has *no death* because it has no birth.

The Appendix, which is mainly due to the Burman collaborator contains, besides many valuable suggestions, parallels between orthodox Buddhism and modern philosophy. In this connection we especially commend the inclusion of choice excerpts from Burmese commentaries, such as the *Maṇisāramañju* and from the best among Ceylonese commentaries, such as the *Tikāgyaw*. A word of praise is here due to the monks of Burma, past and present, who have not only handed on the traditional interpretation of the Abhidhamma but have continued to show their zeal by writing learned commentaries in Pali and in the vernacular, which are monuments of scholarship and which make the authors the first scholars in Abhidhamma. It should reflect great credit on the correctness of their scholarship, the fact that these authors, in spite of their number, have not created any appreciable rival schools of scriptural interpretation. Harmony reigns supreme, such harmony as was enjoyed by the eighty *crores* of monks in the Buddha's own presence. Sometimes, a scholar of pre-eminent originality rises above the rest. But his rising attitude is hardly noticed amidst so many seated theras. It is a matter for regret that the learning of these monks is shut out from the Occidental Scholar, who is unacquainted with the vernacular. Hence the wisdom of calling in the aid of an Oriental like Shwe Zan Aung, whose chief work it should be to supply the Occidental with the best that Burmese scholarship is prepared to give. We would therefore express our firm belief that,

to attain the best results, no translation of an Abhidhamma work, canonical or extra-canonical, should be undertaken without consulting Burmese annotators, living and dead. Surely it cannot be trash that they have been cherishing so long.

The first note in the Appendix is on *paramattha*, which is worthy of the best attention, as it forms the basis of what might be developed into a philosophy of the Real, in the strict Bergsonian sense. The commentaries explain *paramattha* as *paṭṭhāna*, 'pre-eminent', in the sense of irreversibility or incapability of transformation—*aviparītābhāvato eva paramo paṭṭhāno*; and as *uttama*, 'ultimate' not in the sense of *paṃāṇa-atireka*—'surpassing in measure' as a king excelling other men by his kingship, but as a synonym for irreversibility in the sense that *phassa* has one irreversible quality, viz. 'contact'. *Paramassa vā uttamassa nāṇassa attho gocaro* is the explanation of the Tikāgyaw, which means the sense-datum of infallible knowledge, as in the Appendix. Thus *citta*, *cetasika*, *rūpa* and *nibbāna* (which are treated of in the *Compendium of Philosophy*) being the sense-data of infallible knowledge are *paramattha*, real things. Such being the case, should we not call *paññatti*'s, concepts, *paramattha*, as they are also the sense-data of infallible knowledge? But then should we call all plants that grow in mud *paṅkaja*—the lotus, or all animals that bellow on earth *mahimsa*—the buffalo?

Let us now follow up some of the suggestions of Mr. Shwe Zan Aung to show how Buddhist philosophy compares with the intuitive school of M. Bergson and the logico-analytic philosophy of Mr. Russell. We have seen that *paramattha* means something real in the sense that it is actually existing and that its essence is irreversibility and irreducibility. Now reality is either conditioned or unconditioned. "*There are, bhikkhus, these two irreducible categories—what are the two? The irreducible category of the conditioned, the irreducible category of the unconditioned.*" (p. 55). Unconditioned reality is Nibbāna, which is *apaccaya* and *kālavimutti*, i.e. is not causally related to anything and is out of time. Mind and matter and the sense-data of infallible knowledge constitute conditioned reality, the essence of which lies in a continual flux of birth and death, growth and decay, production and dissolution. This phenomenal nature of conditioned reality is well borne out by M. Bergson, "If I consider my body in particular, I find that, like my consciousness, it matures little by little from infancy to old age; like myself it grows old" (*Creative Evolution*, p. 16.) Mr. Russell in his *Problems of Philosophy* thus admits the reality of matter, "It is not by argument that we originally come by our belief in an independent external world. We find this belief ready in ourselves as soon as we begin to reflect; it is what may be called an *instinctive belief*." (p. 37). M. Bergson also says "There is a reality that is external and yet immediately given to the mind" (*Introduction to Metaphysics*, p. 55). The Real must be distinguished from the conceptual, which it transcends. As Ledi Sadaw writes in *JPTS* 1913-1914 p. 124 "In saying 'entity' 'person', we give a name not to the aggregates in any ultimate sense, but only to our idea corresponding to the form or appearance presented by those aggregates. And this idea or concept of an appearance does not exist objectively (independently of mind). Hence in this 'name', neither the meaning nor the name itself has any real existence." Concepts

are thus stable and unreal. In his *Philosophy of Relations*, which, we believe, is being published in *JPTS* 1915-16, Ledi Sadaw again says, "Now the Real, with the sole exception of Nibbāna, is impermanent because it is subject to a ceaseless flux of change involved in becoming. But even as space is regarded as permanent, general concepts and ideas may be said to be also permanent, in the sense of exemption from the phenomenon of becoming." As the Sadaw is unacquainted with any European language, the striking coincidences between his exposition of the Buddhist philosophy of change and that of M. Bergson cannot be said to be the result of mutual obligation.

This brings us to the consideration of time, which is (a) a concept by which the terms of life etc., are counted or reckoned; (b) that "passing by" reckoned as "so much has passed" etc.; (c) and eventuation or happening, there being no such thing as time exempt from events. (p. 392). Book I. 6, § 5 represents the orthodox monk as explaining to his opponent thus, "When you say that present material-aggregate, on ceasing, gives up its present state, you must also admit that material-aggregate gives up its materiality. Similarly, when you say, that present material-aggregate on ceasing does not give up its materiality, you must also admit that it does not give up its present state." This makes clear the Buddhist view that reality is confined to the present. The past reality is gone and the future reality has not yet come. Ledi Sadaw (*JPTS*, 1913 14, p. 121) has written. "As in our present state there is, so in our past has there been, so in the future will there be, just a succession of purely phenomenal happenings, proceedings, consisting solely of arisings and ceasings, hard to discern—because the procedure is ever obscured by our notion of continuity." Those who have no intuition of the Reality "see only a continuous and static condition in these phenomena" (*Ibid*, p. 155). Thus there arises the necessity of considering time as a permanent concept, which has no objective existence of its own. As time is reckoned as "so much has passed" in life, so space is a sufficing condition for the movement of bodies. "It is void, unperceivable, without objective reality," M. Bergson has said, "I have, on the other hand, extracted from it (*i.e.* perpetual becoming) Becoming in general *i.e.* a becoming which is not the becoming of any particular thing and this is what I have called the *time* the state occupies" (*Introd. to Metap.* p. 39) and on p. 44. "Again, the positions of the moving body are not parts of the movement, they are points of the space which is supposed to underlie the movement. This empty and immobile space, which is merely conceived, never perceived, has the value of a symbol only."

Such in brief are some of the conclusions, to which we have been led by the suggestions of the Kathāvatthu. We have only attempted to indicate where the real value of the book lies. Full justice cannot be done to the subject within the narrow limits of a Journal. We leave it for abler hands to trace the lines of coincidence between the ancient orthodox Buddhist view as set forth in the Kathāvatthu and the independent conclusions of modern philosophers. A wide field presents itself to the Pali scholar of the present day. Before we conclude we wish success to the devoted workers of the Pali Text Society, in their historic undertaking, and express our appreciation

of the valuable services done to Pali scholarship by the two scholars, who have clothed the Kathāvatthu in such an effective garb, with what labour as only those who know the original can realize.

MAUNG TIN.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Minutes of the Sub-Committee meeting held on 31st March, 1916.

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esqr., M. A., C. I. E., (in the Chair).

U May Oung, | U Set,
 Prof. Maung Tin.

1. The minutes of the Sub-Committee Meeting held on 17th January, 1916, were read and confirmed.

2. Recorded the taking over charge of the duties of Honorary Secretary by Mr. Keith from Prof. Maung Tin.

3. With regard to Saya Thein's letter suggesting a careful examination of certain parabeiks in the Chief Secretary's Office, it was resolved that a letter be written to the Chief Secretary to obtain his permission to let the Society depute a Burmese Saya with a view to make a descriptive catalogue of the parabeiks.

4. Read a letter from Mr. A. P. Morris, Provincial Art Officer suggesting that a prize be given by the Burma Research Society for the best piece of Burmese poetry.

Resolved that the suggestion did not fall within the scope of the Society.

5. Considered the advisability of printing certain Talaing Manuscripts in the Bernard Free Library and other old Burmese Inscriptions as a part of the Journal.

Resolved that the matter be held over till the next meeting.

6. Mr. L. C. Robertson, Asst. Acct.-General Burma was duly proposed and elected.

MAUNG TIN,
Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of the Sub-Committee meeting held on 8th July, 1916.

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esqr., President (in the Chair).

U May Oung, Vice President.

J. T. Best, Esqr.,

Prof. Maung Tin, Honorary Editor.

1. In place of Mr. Keith, who was absent, Prof. Maung Tin acted as Honorary Secretary.

2. The minutes of the last meeting held on 31st March, 1916, were read and confirmed.

3. Agreed to hold a General Meeting on 4th August, 1916.
4. Resolved that the appointment of a new Honorary Secretary be held over till the Committee Meeting to be held soon after.
5. In view of the varying opinions (as expressed in the letters of certain Committee members to the Society) on the subject of offering a prize for Burmese poetry, it was decided to refer the matter to the full Committee Meeting, where the powers of the Sub-Committee would be clearly defined.

MAUNG TIN,

The 12th July, 1916.

Acting Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of the Committee Meeting held on the 17th July, 1916.

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esqr., M. A., C. I. E., President.

U May Oung, M. A., LL. B., Vice-President.

J. T. Best, Esq. M. A.

W. G. Wedderspoon, Esqr., M. A., LL. B.

U Hpay, K. S. M., A. T. M.

U Set, B. A., (Hon: Treasurer).

U Po Byu,

U Ba, B. A.

A. P. Morris, Esq., B. Sc.

Dr. G. R. T. Ross, D. Phil.

Prof. Maung Tin, M. A., (Acting Hon: Secretary).

1. It was resolved that the 4th of August, 1916, being the anniversary of the Great European War, would not be a suitable date for the next General Meeting, the exact date for which would be fixed by the Sub-Committee.

2. Considered the question of appointing a new Honorary Secretary in place of Mr. A. D. Keith, who had resigned.

Agreed that Prof. Maung Tin should continue to act as Hon: Secretary.

3. Discussed the advisability of offering a Burmese poetry prize by the Society.

The President explained that the decision of the Sub-Committee which met on the 31st March, 1916, to the effect "that the suggestion did not fall within the scope of the Society" was based on the belief first, that the suggestion was originally made by Mr. Furnivall to the Provincial Arts Department and not to the Burma Research Society; secondly, that in any case, a lullaby of 30 to 50 lines could hardly be considered a fitting subject, in which a prize should be given by a Research Society. Mr. Morris owned that the suggestion was indeed originally meant for the Burma Research Society. May Oung pointed out that a prize for the best Burmese poem was being offered by the Y. M. B. A., Rangoon. It was therefore agreed that as an experiment a prize of Rs. 50/- be awarded; but the winning poem must not be a lullaby. A special committee consisting of the six Burmese gentlemen present was then appointed to deal with the question of deciding on the form of the poem, of fixing the last date of submitting it to the Honorary Secretary and of acting as Judges.

4. Discussed the powers of the Sub-Committee.

Agreed that in addition to the present powers, the power of electing ordinary members be vested in the Sub-Committee according to Rule 5, where, for the word "Committee," the word "Sub-Committee" should be read.

5. Recorded certain changes in the Rules which have taken place since the original copy of the Rules was printed.

(a) Rule 13 should read:—

Officers of the Society shall be:—

A President

Three Vice-Presidents

An Honorary Secretary

An Honorary Editor

An Honorary Treasurer

The Honorary Editor shall be also the Librarian.

(b) Rule 14 (b) should read:—"to elect Honorary and Corresponding members."

(c) Delete "and decide upon the agenda for each meeting, to arrange for the publication of the Journal of the Society" from Rule 14 (d).

(d) In Rule 16, for the phrase "immediately before every meeting of the Society" substitute "at such date as the Sub-Committee may fix."

(e) The first sentence in Rule 23 should read:—

"The Secretary, The Editor, The Treasurer, and three members of the Society, of whom two shall be members of the Committee, shall be elected by the Committee to form the Sub-Committee."

(f) Rule 24 should read: "The Editor, as a member of the Sub-Committee shall be charged with editing the Journal and the preparation of papers for publication in the Journal or through such other medium as may be deemed expedient."

(g) Substitute "The Editor" for the "Sub-Committee" in Rule 25.

MAUNG TIN,

Acting Hon: Secretary.

The 20th July, 1916.

MEMBERSHIP.

U Tin, Sub-Divisional Officer of Pagan and Maung San Shwe Bu, Teacher, Govt. High School, Akyab, were elected members of the Society, on 18th August, 1916.

GENERAL MEETING.

A general meeting of the Burma Research Society was held at Rangoon College on Thursday when there were present: Messrs. J. T. Best, U May Oung, J. J. Nolan, G. Rutledge, L. C. Robertson, A. E. Bellars, L. F. Taylor, U Hpay, U Po Byu, Dr. Ross, Dr. Pedley, Major J. H. Sewell, Saya Thein, A. Khalat, U Set, (hon. treasurer) and Prof. Maung Tin (hon. secretary and editor). Mr. Best. took the chair.

The meeting opened with the reading of the amendments to the rules drawn up by the committee meeting on July 17th. There was no discussion and the amendments were unanimously carried.

Dr. Ross then read a paper by Mr. J. Stuart entitled "Some Glimpses of Burma in the Early Nineteenth Century." Mr. Stuart described life in Burma in the interval between the first and second Burmese war. Information was obtained mainly from the biography of Dr. Judson's second wife, written by his third wife. The most interesting event was a revolt in Tavoy in August, 1829. Colonel Burney, the civil and military chief, being away, the town was in charge of about a hundred sepoys. There were no British troops in Tavoy. The revolt took the form of an attempt to capture the powder magazine and gunshed, defended by six sepoys under a native officer. This failed. The insurgents, however, went about the town pillaging, and set free a hundred prisoners from the jail. The British party, consisting of Mrs. Burney, Mrs. Boardman (Dr. Judson's second wife), Mr. Boardman and three other Englishmen took refuge in a wooden building on the wharf, where the sepoys had managed to convey three cannon and a quantity of gunpowder. There were also a few Portuguese traders. Altogether, the number of refugees was three to four hundred. For five days the refugees defended the wharf. The next morning at the critical moment Colonel Burney's return and prompt action brought the revolt to a close. The book in question also gives a description of life at Moulmein, where Mr. and Mrs. Boardman moved in 1827 and experienced some excitement at the hands of the dacoits and thieves who infested the neighbourhood. Mr. Stuart dwells on the ever-recurring sickness among the European community then. Mrs. Boardman returned to Tavoy on the death of her husband and devoted herself to school-work before she married Dr. Judson in 1834. The book then gives some account of the siege of Rangoon by the Talaings after the first Burmese war. The Talaings held posts along the river and the besieged Burmans were starving. When the English steamer came down the river however, after the signing of the treaty, "firing was suspended out of respect to the British flag. The Burmans had foreseen this, and despatched boat-loads of provisions to follow in the vessel's wake, plying the oar at night in places where they could do so with safety, while she lay at anchor, and concealing themselves during the day in the windings of the river, as they could follow. The ruse was successful; the provisions were landed at Rangoon, and the Peguans shortly after raised the siege and fled to the English provinces for protection." The account of the Burmese boats keeping up with the steamer is not convincing; and if the Talaings were really in possession of the country the relief of Rangoon should not have involved the collapse of their insurrection against Burmese rule. The passage of the British steamer may possibly have helped boats already near Rangoon to get to it; but it is surely quite erroneous to say that "the English unwittingly gave the death-blow to the insurrection," as the authoress says.

Mr. Stuart closes his remarks thus: "But what strikes one most in reading this book is the change which the years have wrought in the direction of greater simplicity of expressions among Europeans. We may be more luxurious in our habits than our grandfathers ever had the chance of being,

but in speech at least we are simpler, more direct and, in some ways perhaps, more modest. We admire, at least as much as they did, any honest attempt to do some good work in the world, but we talk less extravagantly about it. We take it more as a matter of course and think less of laurels in hands and wreaths in prospect. Wider knowledge has given us a truer perspective and we are content to say of any one who has made a good fight in any direction that he has tried to "do his bit." Dr. Ross asked for the real reasons why the seige of Rangoon failed.

U May Oung replied that he was inclined to agree with the authoress in implying that the Talaings were helped by the British and that such was the tradition current among the modern Burmans, especially of Moulmein. He had, however, not read it in print.

Mr. Rutledge dwelt on the debt that the society owed to Mr. Stuart for his interesting paper, and said that it would have been better had Mr. Stuart given us an account of Rangoon as he found it when he first came. The speaker was interested in the past history of Rangoon and believed that a description by Mr. Stuart would be more interesting than other subjects, like grammar and philology, which were being dealt with by the society.

Dr. Pedley remembered some thirty years ago Mr. Bennett reading a paper on Rangoon, giving accounts of such local places as the Sule Pagoda. He thought the date was somewhere about 1880.

Prof. Maung Tin thought the date of Mr. Bennett's book was a little later somewhere about 1890.

The chairman in bringing the discussion to a close expressed regret on behalf of the society at the illness of the president, Mr. Hunter, who was to have presided. He agreed with Mr. Stuart in the impression that the authoress of the book spoke in superfluities. The story, itself was a remarkable one, but the account of Mrs. Boardman came to us third-hand, as pointed out by Mr. Stuart. He sympathised with the handful of Europeans who experienced hardships during their stay in Burma and paid a tribute to the intrepid Mrs. Burney who took the command while her husband was away at the time of the revolt at Tavoy. In conclusion he asked that a special vote of thanks be conveyed through the Hon. Secretary to Mr. Stuart for his paper.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

RECEIVED SINCE APRIL 1916, Vol. VI, Part I.

Journal Asiatique re cueil de mémoires et de Notices relatifs aux études orientales, Tom V.—Nos. 3 and 4.

The Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. XI, Part 3.

The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLV, January, to June, 1916.

The Indian Antiquary, Index to Vol. XLIV—1915.

List of Ancient Monuments in Burma, 1916.

Journal of the East Indian Association, Vol. VII, No. 2, April, 1916.

Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, for 1912-13.

Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, for 1913-14
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Indian Archaeological Policy, 1915.

An Introduction to Indonesian Linguistics by R. Brandstetter, Ph. D.,
Translated by C. O. Blagden, M. A., M. R. A. S., (Asiatic Society Monographs,
Vol. XV).

Monthly Bulletin of the Philippine Library and Museum, Vol. IV
February and April, 1916, (Nos. 6—8 and 9)-

Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for
the year ending 31st March, 1916.

Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March,
1915.

The Lady of the Weir, by R. Grant Brown.

The Taungbyon Festival, Burma, by R. Grant Brown.

Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, for 1915-16.

BRITISH INTERCOURSE WITH BURMA BEFORE THE FIRST BURMESE WAR.

In reading such records as are readily available of British intercourse with Burma during the fifty years preceding the first Burmese war, one is struck by the amazing ignorance of the country evinced by every one concerned. The records left by the few European visitors to the country in the sixteenth century had probably been lost sight of and were not easily accessible. But throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the East India Company had established numerous trading factories in Burma. The first of these attempts at "peaceful penetration" had been made in 1618. In that year the factor stationed at the capital of Siam sent a sub-factor, named Thomas Samuel, to Chieng Mai to test the prospects of trade there. At that time Chieng Mai belonged to Siam, but, while Samuel was there, it was retaken by the King of Ava, and the unfortunate sub-factor was carried off with all his property to Pegu, where he died soon after. The factor who sent him had meanwhile been transferred to Masulipatam, but, on hearing of Samuel's death, he despatched two other sub-factors, ostensibly to claim Samuel's effects, but really to try and establish trade in Burma. These men, however, thought they could do better for themselves by setting up as traders on their own account; which they did, apparently with some measure of success. Anyway we are told by Mr. Clifford in his "Further India" that "British intercourse with the country shortly afterwards became freer than it ever was again until after the annexation of Pegu in 1852." In spite of the defection of the two sub-agents, the Company soon afterwards had settlements at Prome, Ava, Syriam and a trading post on the confines of China, probably at Bhamo.

This early attempt at peaceful penetration, however, broke down in time, probably owing to the constant wars. But between 1680 and 1684 the Company re-established its factories in Burma, and in 1686-7 the island of Negrais was surveyed and taken nominal possession of by the British. In 1695 the Governor of Fort St. George sent a mission to Ava and obtained a grant for a new factory at Syriam. A Resident was appointed to supervise the trade there, but almost immediately afterwards there was a general expulsion of foreigners. Though this ended the factory, British and other foreign merchants seem to have kept a footing in Syriam, and when the Siamese and Peguans, leagued together against Ava, took the place in 1740, these strangers were not molested. They had to retire, however, three years later when Syriam was retaken by Ava. A few years later, in 1753, Negrais was settled from Madras. A factory at Bassein had also been established, but in 1755, this was destroyed. A mission under Captain Baker was sent to Ava to ask for redress, but got little satisfaction. In 1757, however, another envoy, Ensign Lister, obtained leave to open a factory at Bassein. In 1759 Negrais was practically abandoned, only a small staff remaining to look after the buildings. Soon afterwards the entire population of the island, including ten Europeans, was murdered. The Envoy sent to ask for redress got no

satisfaction and Bassein was then abandoned. Some trade, however, was still carried on with Rangoon, "until 1794, the merchants doing little business," Mr. Clifford says, but it is evident that trade did not entirely cease in 1794, though, after that it may have been irregular and intermittent. The resident European merchants may have been few in number and of little account. Mr. Gouger speaks rather contemptuously of those there in his time just before the first war. But F. Sangermano was in Burma from 1783 till 1807, and in the preface to his book, we are told that he "was well known to the foreigners who frequented Rangoon, particularly to the English." These English were, no doubt, the officers and supercargoes of the ships going to Rangoon for timber, as well as any traders actually resident in the place. These ships would take goods for sale in Burma. Moreover, the Indian Government was sufficiently interested in Burma to pay F. Sangermano a pension for life in recognition of his services in preparing for them a chart of the port of Rangoon.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries quite a number of British traders had thus lived in Burma, or, at least, had visited it either as servants of the East India Company or as private merchants. In addition to this, various envoys were sent, from time to time, to the Burmese Court. Some of the earlier ones have already been mentioned, but there were others right up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The last of these envoys was Captain Canning who went twice, but, on the second occasion, in 1812, did not get further than Rangoon. In addition to this, by the end of the eighteenth century, this Company's territory had extended to the borders of Burma, so, from all these sources one would have thought that the East India Company should have had a fair knowledge of the country. Yet, in his account of the first Burmese war, Colonel Laurie says:—"Almost totally unacquainted with the character and resources of the country into which our arms were to be carried—unaware of the nature of the climate, which in the marshy districts scarcely yielded to Walcheren in the pestiferous quality of the atmosphere—the Government entered upon its arrangements with a recklessness of expense and a disregard of the future, which ignorance might account for, if it did not wholly excuse."

Certainly Government should have known that they could scarcely have chosen a worse season of the year in which to commence a campaign than the beginning of the rainy season. Apparently, they had no idea of what that season is in Lower Burma. Colonel Laurie has a very exaggerated idea of the "pestiferous atmosphere" of the country. Many Europeans now live in it for long periods without incurring any serious diminution of health. But the mortality from sickness among the troops in the first war was enormous. The Deputy Adjutant-General drew up a return showing that in the first year of the war, while only three and a half per cent. of the troops were killed in action, forty-five per cent. perished from disease. Colonel Laurie admits that the difficulty in getting supplies contributed to this heavy mortality. In the second year the difficulty about supplies was overcome, but the record of mortality from disease for the whole campaign is appalling. Although the Native troops exceeded the British force very greatly in number the mortality among the Europeans was 3,029 against 1,305 among the

Indians. These figures are exclusive of those killed in action. This difference may be due in part to the Indians having acquired through generations a greater power of resistance to malaria, but it was probably due very largely also to the simpler diet and simpler life of the Indian troops. A hundred years ago the mortality among Europeans throughout the East was always very heavy, and when one reads accounts of the way in which they lived one does not wonder at this. Heavy meat meals and a good deal of alcohol may be faced with less danger in cold climates, especially if accompanied by plenty of active exercise. But in the tropics it is very different. These poor British Tommies were, probably, unsuitably clad, unsuitably fed, got too much alcohol, and, while in barracks at least, got little regular exercise. The knowledge of surgery and of medicine was also very defective judged by modern standards. The Indian Government cannot be blamed, of course, for not being a century in advance of their own time in knowledge of hygiene, sanitation, medicine and surgery; but after two centuries of intermittent peaceful penetration of Burma, they should have known more about the country, its climate and its people than they did.

The Indian Government being itself so ignorant of Burma, private traders would naturally know even less; and as the East India Company looked on them as interlopers, it would not be very ready to impart any information it had. It was not until 1833 that trade in India was really free to the private merchant; and then only because the Company's charter was renewed on the express condition that the Company should abandon its own trade and permit Europeans to settle freely in India. It is true that twenty years earlier, in 1813, trade had been declared open under certain restrictions; but Mr. Gouger has left an account of the handicap under which the private trader had to compete with the Company's commercial agent. The private trader may have made an advance for certain produce to be delivered to him, but if the Company's agent demanded the produce it was useless for the seller to plead a prior sale. A rupee was thrown into his house, and when the time came, the produce had to be delivered to the Company's agent, the private trader losing his advance and having practically no redress. One wonders that any one should risk private trading under such a handicap, but, when a deal did come off without any hitch, the profits were, doubtless, very handsome.

Mr. Gouger, apparently at the age of 19 or 20, had started as a private trader in competition with the Company's agent. The produce they were both after was the raw silk of a district in Bengal. After two or three years' experience of this, his health broke down and the doctor advised a change of climate. A friend offered to finance a trading venture to Burma and young Gouger jumped at this chance of getting the required change of climate and of finding at the same time an escape from the unequal competition with the Company's agent. The chief difficulty was to find out anything about Burma and its requirements. The only information available was that contained in the published accounts of the missions of Colonel Symes and of Captain Cox. These were not very informative or encouraging but it was thought that a mercantile mission would be received more cordially than a political one. Three thousand pounds were spent in the purchase of a trial consignment of

goods, but with little knowledge of what were the most suitable goods to select for the Burmese market. With these Mr. Gouger sailed at the end of June, 1822, and arrived in Rangoon about the middle of July. He could have made a handsome profit by selling his consignment at once in Rangoon, but thought it better to go on to the capital to test trade and its possibilities there. He was received in the most friendly way at the Burmese Court, and his goods realised eight thousand pounds, a very handsome profit indeed. But the difficulty lay in getting the money out of the country. The authorities would not permit the export of gold or silver. Teak timber was almost the only article which could be freely exported, and he had no means of getting ships to carry away eight thousand pounds worth of that. Eventually he got over the difficulty, by bribery apparently, and the results were so satisfactory that in July, 1823, he returned to Burma with a larger and more suitable consignment of goods. This venture proved as great a success as the former one but before the profit could be realised and smuggled out of the country, war was declared and the unfortunate merchant was thrown into prison where he remained until the end of the war.

It is worth noting that on both occasions he started from Calcutta during the rains and had no difficulty in securing a passage. Moreover, on the second visit, the Captain was able to take the ship up to Rangoon himself as no pilot was available at the mouth of the river. It is evident that vessels sailed between Indian ports and Rangoon fairly frequently though the Company had no Resident in Burma, and the few Europeans living in Rangoon seem, with some notable exceptions, to have been rather a shady lot. Mr. Gouger contrasts the contemptuous treatment they received from the local authorities with his own reception at the capital and says this was "partly their own fault, for it must be admitted that the unruly conduct of some of them tended rather to invite oppression than to inspire respect."

In reading such accounts as are readily accessible of life in these times, one is struck, not only by the lack of information about Burma on the part of both Government officials and private traders, though peaceful penetration had been carried on for two centuries; but also by the boldness—one might almost say the recklessness of life—evinced by the sailors of the time. During the present European war the sailors in our mercantile marine have proved conclusively that officers and men are as brave and as ready to face risks as their predecessors were. But in the present day no respectable shipping company would send men to sea, on ships so ill-equipped as some of these vessels were a century or more ago. Doubtless, many of these ships went down leaving no survivor to tell the tale of their sufferings. In other cases, where one or more survivors did reach land, the record has been lost. Such risks were all in the day's work, and seem to have been regarded lightly enough. But, thanks to the Clan Mackay Society, one such record has been preserved and published in book form. The book, however, may not be readily accessible in Burma, so I give the essential facts of the wreck as described in a letter written by the second mate, William Mackay, to his father. It is said that Lord Byron, when a boy, read the pamphlet describing this wreck, and that the memory of it suggested the verses in "Don Juan" beginning:—

"There were two fathers in this ghastly crew."

Mr. Mackay describes himself as a "subject and servant of the East India Company," so, presumably, the vessel, in which he sailed on this ill-fated voyage, belonged to the Company also. He tells his father that "for reasons with which you are already acquainted," he had left his ship at Rangoon and joined the "Juno" as second mate. The Captain was Alexander Bremner and the ship was taking in a cargo of teak-wood for Madras. The "Juno" was "a ship of 450 tons burthen, very much out of repair, and in all respects badly provided for sea." The crew consisted of fifty-three men, chiefly lascars, with a few Europeans. There were also some Malays to assist in working the ship, and the Captain had brought his wife and her maid, the latter being "a young woman of the country," but whether that means of Burma or of India is not clear. Altogether there were seventy-two persons on board. They sailed from Rangoon on 29th May, 1795, that is at the very beginning of the rains, in a small ship "very much out of repair and in all respects badly provided for sea." They had bad luck almost from the start. The ship struck a sand-bank and they feared she would upset at low water, so they struck top-gallant yards and masts to relieve her of as much top weight as possible. She floated off, however, with the flood; so they pressed on to deep water. On 1st June a gale commenced with a very high sea. The gale lasted for six days and the vessel sprung a leak. During these six days the pumps had to be kept going constantly and the pump gear frequently got out of order. There was no carpenter on board and scarcely any carpenter's tools. The pumps sucked up the sand ballast and they could hit on no expedient to prevent this. The sand, of course, choked the pumps.

On 6th June the gale abated and they were then able to patch up the leak by nailing some tarred canvas and oakum on it with sheet lead over all. This reduced the pumping required to once in every watch and might have served for the voyage in fair weather but that was not to be counted on in June. Mr. Mackay says:—"We must all have been infatuated when we imagined that a piece of canvas, though it might exclude the water in moderate weather, could sufficiently secure such a leak as ours when the ship should come to labour." Certainly they should have tried to reach Rangoon again, but they were foolhardy and went on. Six days later, on 12th June, another severe gale commenced. "From the beginning of it the ship made more water than she had done before, and one experienced the same distressing consequences, the choking of the pumps and destruction of the pump gear Towards the 16th, almost exhausted with fatigue and want of rest, we began to entertain serious apprehensions for our safety." They then determined to set all the sail the ship could carry so as to reach the nearest port on the Coromandel Coast.

The incessant labour at the pumps, however, prevented the necessary attention to the sails, "so that before the 18th, they were all blown away from the yards, except the foresail, with which we lay to till the 20th at noon, being in lat. 17° 10' N. and (by reckoning) about 9° W. of Cape Negrais." They hauled up the foresail and kept before the wind under bare poles, uniting in a general effort at the pumps. By eight in the evening the water had reached the lower deck and the crew "were clamorous for getting out the boats, which we knew could be of no service, as we had only an old jolly-boat and

a six-oared pinnace, both shattered and leaky." They cut away the main mast to lighten the ship, but "unfortunately the wreck of the mast falling in board, in the confusion this occasioned the men at the helm let the ship broach to, and the sea made a fair passage over all." They thought that the ship was going to the bottom, not realising, apparently, that a vessel laden with teak could not sink, or that the sand ballast would now serve a good purpose by maintaining the ship's upright position. It was submerged, however, sufficiently to bring the upper deck under water, so the only place of safety was on the masts. "Captain Bremner, his wife, myself and a few others then got into the mizentop. All the rest clung about the mizen rigging, except one man, who happening to be forward at the time, gained the foretop." Imagine the position on that night of 20th June, 1795. The "Juno" floating but all except the masts under water, seventy one persons on the mizentop or clinging to the mizen rigging and one man on the foretop. No chance of obtaining food; very little likelihood of being rescued by a passing ship; and no means of directing the ship's course towards land. "The shrieks of the women and of the lascars added to the general horror. Some voluntarily yielded to their fate at once, while others, unable to keep their hold, were washed out of the rigging. . . . From want of room in the mizen some of the men quitted it, intending to swim forward to the foretop, and three or four lost their lives in the attempt." When rain fell they were able to get some fresh water by sucking their wet clothes; but, in spite of this, they suffered grievously from thirst. Mr. Mackay says, however, that he and many others found some relief by dipping a waist coat in the sea and then putting it on next the skin. His theory is that the pores of the skin absorbed the sea-water leaving the salt on the surface and he declares that he owed his life to this device.

On 25th June the first two deaths from exposure and privation occurred. On or about the same date, Captain Bremner and some others went away on a small raft they had made, but in two days they had exhausted their strength, and having drifted back to the ship, were glad to return to the rigging. After this Captain Bremner became delirious, causing considerable trouble to the others until death released him on 1st July. About this time too Mr. Mackay says he found relief from drinking salt water. Believing this to be injurious he had so far resisted the temptation, but, "unable to endure the parching heat of my stomach and bowels, and, thinking my dissolution at hand, I went down to indulge myself with a last draught, and drank perhaps nearly two quarts. To my great astonishment, instead of injuring it revived both my strength and spirits; but still considering it as certain poison, I every moment expected my last agonies to begin. In this too I was mistaken. I got a second sleep and my inward heat abated; I felt stronger; and, though it purged and griped me violently, the inconvenience was trivial when compared with the benefit that always resulted from it."

After Captain Bremner's return with the raft, the first mate, Mr. Wade, prevailed on two Italian helmsmen, two Malays and three or four lascars to join him in a second attempt to reach land in that way. They were soon lost sight of and were never heard of again. Meantime the numbers decreased, deaths occurring from time to time. Mr. Mackay specially noticed that it was not always the strongest who held out longest. He instances two cases

which had attracted his attention for another reason. One was Mr. Wade's servant, a stout and healthy boy, who died early and almost without a groan. This lad's father was on board but seemed indifferent to his fate. Another lad of the same age, "but of a less promising appearance, held out much longer." This boy's father was on board also, but he nursed his son with unremitting care until the end and then lay down and died himself two days later. This is the incident which is supposed to have suggested Lord Byron's lines.

By 10th July the ship had drifted to the coast of Arakan and the following morning struck on a rock. The ebb tide left the deck almost dry, so the few survivors were able to get into the gunroom. There they found three or four cocoanuts but nothing else of any use to them. The cocoanuts were shared and eaten but, though there could have been little more than a mouthful for each, this meal seems to have disagreed with them. Then they saw "something like men" walking on the shore but failed to attract their attention, so six of the stoutest lascars, with the help of a small spar each, set out for the shore and managed to reach it. This reduced the party on board to eight persons, Mr. Mackay himself, Mrs. Bremner and her maid, two old men, two boys and a middle aged man who had been ill in bed for some days before he had to take refuge on the mizentop. There were thus only fourteen survivors out of the seventy-two who had left Rangoon. On 13th July, they were able to see that some natives on shore had found the lascars and were cooking food for them. This emboldened Mr. Mackay and his servant to attempt to reach the shore with the aid of two planks. In this they succeeded, though Mr. Mackay lost his clothes on the way and landed badly bruised on the rocks and quite naked. He speaks very gratefully of the kindness of a Burman who took off his own "turban" and gave it to him to put round his loins. The rest of the people on shore were, apparently, Chittagonians and they showed but little kindness or sympathy. Mrs. Bremner had had thirty rupees in her pocket when they had to take refuge on the mizentop. No one else had any money at all, and in the early days of their sojourn on the mizentop, Mrs. Bremner's wealth had been a standing joke. The Chittagonians, hearing that she had money, schemed to get it for themselves, but the Burman having overheard their plans, saved the two women himself without asking for any reward. During the following night the ship broke in two, but the upper part floated in so near that the two men who still remained on board were able to wade to the beach.

The rupees Mrs. Bremner had held on to now came in useful. She was able to pay for food and to hire porters to carry herself and her maid. "On the 17th we began our journey—Mrs. Bremner and her maid on litters—myself, two boys and the gunner on foot. The rest of our companions, being all Moor men, had from the first attached themselves to the natives, and now remained behind with them." Except from the Burman, the party seem to have received very little kindness from the people they first met. On the journey Mr. Mackay was unable to keep up with the others and soon lost sight of them, but he fell in with a Portuguese pedlar, a native of Chittagong, who was going to Arakan with goods for sale. This man washed the wounds he had received in coming ashore; encouraged him to continue his

journey; gave him food to take with him; and, recommending him to the care of the Virgin, hurried him away so that he might reach a hut two miles off before dark. On arriving there, Mr. Mackay found the rest of his party. Soon after leaving this halting place, they were overtaken by six lascars who had originally stayed behind at the scene of the wreck. They also had met the Portuguese pedlar who "reproached them for their inhumanity to me, and told them that I was a great man, though now in distress, and that the Governor of Chittagong would call them to a severe account for their conduct. This intelligence produced a wonderful change in their behaviour."

After various hardships and misadventures the party reached a village only four miles from Ramoo. As they knew that a detachment of the Company's troops was stationed at Ramoo they were anxious to reach that place as quickly as possible. But the zemindar of the village, though he treated them well and supplied them plentifully with provisions, put all sorts of obstacles in the way of their continuing their journey. It was evident that he had some motive for this which he would not divulge. Eventually he told Mr. Mackay that he was afraid the Magistrate at Chittagong might hold him responsible for the plunder of the wreck, so he asked for a certificate that he had had nothing to do with that. After some hesitation Mr. Mackay gave him that. What exactly the man meant to do with this certificate is not quite clear, but his promise to forward the party to Ramoo on receipt of it was not fulfilled. Fortunately for the shipwrecked party, however, this certificate, by some mistake, came into the hands of Lieutenant Towers who was in command of the troops at Ramoo. He at once despatched a havildar and two sepoys to bring the party to Ramoo, which they reached on 23rd July. Then every thing possible was done to alleviate their sufferings and on 26th July they started for Chittagong arriving there two days later. Rest and good living soon restored Mr. Mackay to health and strength, and on 8th August, he started again for the scene of the wreck which he reached on the 17th August. Rain rather hindered work at first, but by 6th October, the timber was all landed and piled up on shore. The wreck was burned to get at the iron work, which was collected and by 25th November, all was shipped in the "Restoration" in which Mr. Mackay also proceeded to Calcutta arriving there on 12th December.

The sufferings of the survivors on board the "Juno" from thirst have already been described; but they were also cut off from all food, as that was inaccessible when the ship was submerged on 20th June, and except for a mouthful of cocoanut each a day or two before landing, they had no food until 13th July. It seems incredible that they should have lived for three weeks entirely without food. Speaking of the early days of their hunger, Mr. Mackay says:—"I confess it was my intention, as well as that of the rest, to prolong my existence by the only means that seemed likely to occur, eating the flesh of any whose life might terminate before my own." This intention, however, does not seem to have been carried out, before 1st July any way. Mr. Mackay says his recollection of the incidents after that, except that of the two fathers and their sons, is rather obscured. Whether they resorted to cannibalism or not, fourteen persons did survive, though in a deplorable state of weakness. Mr. Mackay completely recovered and was

soon after in the thick of other adventures at sea, but these have no connection with Burma. Mrs. Bremner recovered her health and spirits and married again. Mr. Mackay's boy was none the worse, but absolutely refused to go to sea again. The most remarkable case, however, is that of the man who was ill in bed even before the wreck. This man was unable to go to Ramoo with the others, but remained at the place of the wreck. When Mr. Mackay embarked in the "Restoration," he took this man with him and left him in the hospital at Calcutta, still in much the same condition as when he had landed from the wreck.

The whole narrative is very interesting and I know of no reason to doubt its main facts at least. Many of the sailing vessels of that time were probably as little fitted to face the South-West monsoon as the "Juno" was, and many of them must have gone down and never been heard of again. The narrative shows also that at the end of the eighteenth century, British ships were in the habit of visiting Rangoon. Mr. Mackay has not a word to say about that port, apparently taking it for granted that it was well known. One would like to know also what the "Juno's" cargo of teak was worth. The East India Company considered it valuable enough to send the "Restoration" to salve it. Yet, about a quarter of a century later, Mr. Gouger dismisses the idea of converting into timber the £8000 he had realised on his first trading venture to Burma, in these words;—"Besides, how many huge ships will it require to carry away £8000 worth of timber, and what the loss and delay in effecting it?"

Mr. Mackay concludes his letter to his father by subscribing himself "Your dutiful and affectionate Son." I wonder how many grown up sons in the present day bring in the "dutiful" in concluding their letters to their fathers.

J. STUART,



BURMESE PROVERBS AND SAYINGS.*

Solomon as well as Quintilian holds that "a proverb is one man's wit and all men's wisdom," while Aristotle in his "Rhetoric" speaks of proverbs as "the undeniable testimonies of truth." This is emphatically true of the ကောင်းပုံ or Burmese proverbs with which our literature is bestrewn in gay profusion. Their dignity, their importance and their usefulness cannot therefore be doubted. They embody the learning of the ancients and are the living monuments of the children of wisdom of all times. They affect human nature and human life, customs and conduct, manners and morals, and are, in truth, for the guidance of all generations. Those that relate to morals guide us in life, and their truth is undeniable. Those that treat of commonplaces are to a great degree truisms inasmuch as they are the results of everyday experience.

Moreover, proverbs serve as ornaments of speech and arguments of wisdom, and so they help us in the art of speaking and writing. But we should be on our guard. They may not be used too frequently. "A formal fool speaks naught but proverbs." Properly speaking, they should be introduced only at the right moment and should leave no impression of superfluity. In other words, they should just fit the occasion. It would do us good to study the following:—

စကားဆိုလျှင်ထုံးကျိမ့်တံ။ If you would speak well, note old sayings.

တရားလိုလျှင်ရုံးကြိကဝ်။ If you would have justice, go to the court.

စကားဆိုတောင်လိုမဝောက်နှင့်။ တံတားအိုမှောင်ကျိမလျှောက်နှင့်။ စကားဆိုတောင်လိုမဝက်ကလွန်တတ်သည်။ တံတားအိုမှောင်ကျိမလျှောက်က ကျွန်တတ်သည်။ Heighten not your words, lest you should slip with your tongue. Venture not in the dark on an old bridge, lest you should slip with your feet.

The earliest known writer of proverbs is Kandaw Mingyaung Sayadaw of Taungdwin in the Magwe District. He presented a letter to King Narapadi—better known as the Shwegu Dayaka—the fifth king of the Mohnyin line, who ruled at Ava from 863 B. E. to 888 B. E. (1501-1526 A. D.). The letter contains moral precepts in the form of proverbial sayings enjoining rules of conduct in life, and is known as ကန်တော်မင်းကျောင်းမေတ္တာစာ or the letter of Kandaw Mingyaung Sayadaw. Now, it may be said that with this letter a new era dawned in the history of Burmese literature with regard to proverbs; for, as will be seen later on, it forms the basis of all later writers on the subject. The Sapadaw is styled after the name of the *kyaung* which was built for him at Taungdwin by a paternal aunt of the King. There exists a commentary on the letter, but we know nothing of the commentator beyond the fact that he was a native of Taungdwin—a place noted for wen of learning. The sage sayings of the Sayadaw are very instructive. Here are a few examples:—

မပေးဘဲကျိမလျှံနှင့်။ Wish not for a thing which is not given.

မမေးဘဲကျိမဆိုနှင့်။ Speak not unless questioned.

* Compare also on the same subject *Journal*, Vol. IV, pp. 121, ff.—*Editor*.

မခေါ်ဘဲ ကိုမသွားနှင့်။ Visit not without invitation.

မမြဲနဲ့ဘဲ ကိုမစားနှင့်။ Eat not anything which you do not relish.

မရှဉ့်ဘဲ ကိုမဆွတ်နှင့်။ Pluck not unripe fruits.

တိတ်တိတ်နေထောင်တန်၏။ Silence is worth a thousand pieces of gold or silver; or "Silence is golden."

After the Sayadaw we have no one who deserves mention in connection with the literature of proverbs until the appearance of two famous writers—Mónywe Sayadaw and Kyigan Koyingyi of Mónywe and Kyigan villages respectively. These villages are now in the Mónywa Township of the Lower Chindwin District.

The former, like Kandaw Mingyaung Sayadaw, was an eminent priest who presented to King Bagyidaw in 1189 B. E. (1827 A. D.) an address which was afterwards known as *မုံရွေးဆရာတော်မေတ္တာစာ* (letter of Mónywe Sayadaw). A commentary on it was written by the Sayadaw himself in 1194 B. E. (1834 A. D.) under the title of *ရာဇဝေါဒကျမ်း* (Precepts for Kings.)

Kyigan Koyingyi was a novice in the priesthood. He is the author of a well-known letter addressed to the same monarch who was the then reigning sovereign of Ava and a descendant of the most powerful Burmese king, viz. Alaungpaya, whose dynasty began in 1114 B. E. (1753 A. D.) and lasted for 133 years.

The Sayadaw's address contains instructions of life with examples of justice and of virtue drawn from the *Jatakas* (Buddha's birth stories). He begins his exhortations to the king by saying *အောက်ဆုံး အခံနိဗ္ဗာန်ကို မီးလျှံ၍ကြည်သော် နာရနိတွင်ပြင်း၏။ တကြိမ်လောလျှင် နာရဝေါဆိုရောက်၏။* etc., (As gold can be refined to the last degree by repeated smelting, so can a man reach the highest degree of morality by repeated virtuous efforts which can be accomplished by associating with the wise). He next gives illustrations in support of his admonitions and of some other points touching upon the regular conduct of a noble and benevolent life. These illustrations forming as they do a record of some of the noble deeds of Lord Buddha in his previous existences are cast into a string of proverbial metaphors. They are couched in an elegant style and serve, at the same time, as wise counsels to rulers and to all men alike.

The aphoristic sayings of the novice deal in general with the practical wisdom of life and prudential considerations. The first and foremost among them is that in which he warns against the vices of mankind. Regarding friendship he says—

ရှင်သည်ခင်သည် ကျင်သည်ကွင်းသည်နှင့်စေ၊ ရန်သူတွေကစွန့်စားခဲသည်။ A man may have a very strong attachment to you and yet he would seldom risk himself when you are faced by an enemy.

To this we find a parallel in "Friends stand afar off when a man is in adversity." It may be compared also with another English saying which runs—"In the adversity of our best friends we often find something that is not exactly displeasing." Both this saying and the aphorism of the novice reveal the frailty of the human mind which leans towards that defect which may rightly be termed "selfishness." They also remind us of the following passage in Bacon's "Architecture of Fortune":—

"To follow that ancient precept, not construed to any point of perfidiousness, but only to caution and moderation, that we are to treat our friend as if he might one day be a foe, and our foe as if he should one day be friend."

Further, the novice's idea may best be understood by the following which appears in La Rochefoucauld's "Moral Reflections" viz., "Friendship is only a reciprocal conciliation of interests, a mutual exchange of good offices; it is a species of commerce out of which self-love always intends to make something."

And we all know the common saying—"A friend in need is a friend indeed." Another saying has it that "A friend is never known till a man have need."

The novice thus tells us the whole truth. Indeed friendship cannot exist without reciprocal self sacrifice.

The following are a few more examples of similar caution:—

အရှင်ကိုချစ်၏၊ မပြောင့်။ He may be devoted to his master, and yet he is unfaithful.

ညှာသိသော်လည်းသတိမရှိသည့်။ He may be clever, and yet he sometimes lacks foresight.

The facts which everyone should keep in mind are expressed thus:—

အကြင်ရှိမှအချစ်။ Where there is affection there is love.

အမြစ်ရှိမှအပင်။ There is no stem without a root.

အထင်ရှိမှအတွေး။ When there is doubt there is deliberation.

These may be usefully compared again with the modern saying:—

ဝုတ်မှပေါ်သည့်ဟုတ်မှကျေသည့်မဝုတ်ဘဲမပေါ်မဟုတ်ဘဲမကျေ။ (There is no decomposed body which will not float on water; there is no truth which will not spread far and wide); and also with the well-known English proverbs:—"There is no smoke without fire. There is no strong rumour without some ground for it."

The novice does not touch upon matrimonial matters probably because he was in holy orders. But Paukkan Maung Cho, another writer of proverbs of Kyigan's period has given us a pungent and expressive saying alluding to friendship, relationship and marriage which we can hear often now from the mouths of our old dames, viz.:—

ဆွေကောင်းလျှင်တလယ်၊ မျိုးကြွယ်လျှင်တစလောင်း၊ မိဘကောင်းလျှင်အမြို့နိမ့်၊ လင်ကောင်းမှစံရ။ The utmost help that may be expected from a true friend is one *salè* (1/64th part of a basket); from a wealthy relative one *salaung* (pot lid) of rice; and from good parents social standing; but real prosperity belongs only to her who has a good husband.

Maung Cho was a native of Paukkan (now Pagan) in the Myingyan District. He and his two brothers wrote a letter to their uncle, a Buddhist monk—U Ya by name—who probably was anxious to see them get on in life. They therefore expressed in their letter their knowledge of human life and human nature which they had learned by experience and study showing presumably that they were perfect men of the world.

The exact date of the letter is not known. But it may be presumed that it was written after and not before Kyigan's letter; as very little is known of Maung Cho while the novice is widely known as one of the learned literary

men of his time. Apart from this fact, most of the ideas and thoughts in Maung Cho's letter either correspond to, or are identical with, those of the novice. The former however had added, as a later writer would do, several of his own ideas. And the reason for assigning him to the same period as Kyigan and Mōnywe is that letters of this class are known to revive only in that period after a lapse of nearly three centuries since the composition of the letter of Kandaw Mingyaung Sayadaw, the first of its kind in the literature of proverbial sayings.

Another well-known personage noted for wise sayings is one U Paw U, a contemporary of the two last mentioned sages. He flourished during three successive regimes under Alaungpaya's dynasty, i. e. from 1143 B. E. to 1207 B. E. (1781-1843 A. D.).

At first he was နားခံတော်ကြီး (royal spokesman), and thereafter Prime Minister under king Bodawpaya, founder of Amarapura. He next became successively Commander-in-chief of the army of King Bagyidaw (also known as Pan-nan-shin), and Head of the Judiciary in the reign of Kōnbaung Min who is also called Shwebo Min. He was a man of great literary attainments and merits to which he owed all his high offices. He was thoroughly conversant with history while his knowledge of the *Tiṭṭakās* (Buddhist scriptures) was of no mean degree. But he was more of a humorous speaker than a writer. His memories have only lately appeared in print under the title of ခမတ်ကြီးဦးပေါ်ဦးလျှောက်ထုံး or ကမ်းဆွဲပြေညာလှည်း. They contain a collection of his addresses to his sovereigns and are full of historical allusions, humorous and figurative expressions, maxims &c. Some of them are in verse.

He once outwitted King Bagyidaw who was very pleased with the finding of a ဣလတ္တံ said to have been dropped on the platform of the Aungmye-lawka Pagoda by *Sakra* or Chief of the celestial beings in the *Tavatimsa* heaven. Now, a ဣလတ္တံ is a thin gold leaf on which something has been inscribed for the benefit of mankind. But the one in question was only a small sheet of ordinary white Burmese *parabaik* or paper made from bamboo. In spite of this fact, the king entertained a belief that his glory forced *Sakra's* hands and made him send the ဣလတ္တံ to warn the people of the diseases which would carry them off if they did not become more pious. Thus the king flattered himself that *Sakra* had rendered him service in the cause of religion.

When the ဣလတ္တံ was shown to U Paw U for opinion he merely praised the genius of those who had written it for their mechanical skill, to wit their fine handwriting, the correctness of their spelling and what not. And when asked why he had not extolled *Sakra*, the author, he rejoined that he thought that *Sakra* was a hen-pecked husband, because he was not allowed by his wives—for he has several wives such as *Thuzita*, *Thunanda* &c.—to spend even a few ticals of gold for his so-called ဣလတ္တံ. He further said that above all he would like to bestow more praise on the *Shans* who had found their way to the *Tavatimsa* heaven, and sold their bamboo paper to *Sakra*.

It may be mentioned here that in those days, paper was manufactured from bamboo pulp and sold by *Shans* only.

It may not be out place here to point out that literature was in a highly flourishing state during the reigns of the three kings named above. Among other verse-writers of the period, we may mention Mè Pyu, Mè Nyo, the second Nawade, Letwè Thôndara, Twinthin Mingyi, Mingyi U Sa, U Aung Do, Shwedaung Nandathu, Pothudaw U Min and Sazodaw U Min. Under Kônbaung Min even his queen, Ma Mya Gale, took to writing some poems which are held in great esteem among the modern writers.

The famous Thingaza Sayadaw who flourished in King Mindôn's time was as apt as U Paw U at speaking.

This venerable monk was very fond of introducing into his conversation with great propriety witty expressions, proverbial sayings, similes or the like. He thus became widely known throughout Burma as the best conversationalist of his time, yea, it was pre-eminently the readiness of his wit which gave rise to his fame. He was much honoured by the king who was often pleased with him for his retorts and repartees in conversation.

It is said that he was once invited to the palace and requested by His Majesty to clear up a knotty point in regard to the miracle which enabled Lord Buddha, though 18 cubits in height, to walk about at will inside a very tiny mustard seed. The Sayadaw did not hesitate a moment but promptly explained away the difficulty by comparing the miraculous view of the holy sage with the telescopic view of Mandalay Hill, a prominent feature of the city easily seen from the palace. Thus the query which is said to have been asked by the then British ambassador at the Burmese Court (Sir A. Phayre) was answered satisfactorily.

Almost a complete record of his conversations alluding to similar incidents and forming his memoirs can now be found in a book entitled ဥပမာဝေဒနာဝိသုဒ္ဓိ which also contains the memoirs of some other learned Sayadaws of lesser fame.

Pothudaw U Pônnya, a well-known modern writer also produced a letter similar to those of the earlier writers already discussed. It contains instructions to his pupils—be they far or near—and can match the earlier ones in form and style. He rose to fame as a man of letters at the same time as Thingaza Sayadaw in the late King Mindôn's reign, and died only a few years ago in his native village, Nyungbintha in the Sagaing District.

It may be observed that many of the sayings found in those letters cited are not strictly proverbs in the English sense of the term though they are in the Burmese sense. They are mere moral precepts with some proverbial attributes. A Burmese proverb may therefore be taken to be an instructive sentence, phrase, expression, verse or rhyming couplet—short or long—whose essential characteristic is figurativeness.

The idea of forming proverbs into rhyming couplets with explanatory endings such as the one given at the beginning of this article seems to be of very recent date, as they are only to be found in the letter of Pothudaw U Pônnya. However we have been able to add to his list of couplets reproduced below two more sayings of the same class which are written from memory as their originals are not traceable now. But it appears that they are new and subsequent to those of U Pônnya in point of time.

- (1) ရတိုင်းလည်းသုံး၍မချောက်နှင့်။ ကျသိုင်းလည်းကျန်း၍မကောက်နှင့်။
ရတိုင်းသုံး၍ချောက်ကဖြူလွယ်မည်။ ကျသိုင်းကျန်း၍ကောက်ကလှရမည်။

Spend not all your earnings, lest you should be quickly reduced to poverty.

Pick not up everything that drops off from your hands, lest people should laugh at you.

- (2) မင်းကိုလည်းမတူနှင့်။ ဟင်းကိုလည်းမလှနှင့်။
မင်းကိုတုန့်ကံတတ်သည်။ ဟင်းကိုလှကရှက်တတ်သည်။

Ape not the powers that be, lest you might be punished.

Snatch not the curry (while eating in company), lest you might be put to shame.

- (3) မခေါ်ဘဲမသွားနှင့်။ မတော်ဘဲမစားနှင့်။
မခေါ်ဘဲသွားကလေတတ်သည်။ မတော်ဘဲစားကသေတတ်သည်။

Visit not without invitation lest you might get into a vagrant habit.

Eat not what does not suit you, lest your life might be in danger.

- (4) မမေးဘဲမဆိုနှင့်။ မအေးဘဲမမျိုနှင့်။
မမေးဘဲဆိုကကြောင်တတ်သည်။ မအေးဘဲမျိုကလောင်တတ်သည်။

Speak not unless questioned, lest you might be ignored.

Swallow not before the food is cold, lest you burn your throat.

- (5) ဆူးကိုလည်းမနင်းနှင့်။ ဗူးကိုလည်းမသွင်းနှင့်။
ဆူးကိုနင်းကစူးတတ်သည်။ ဗူးကိုသွင်းကရှူးတတ်သည်။

Tread not upon a thorn, lest it prick you.

Turn not a sorcerer, lest you might be mad.

- (6) ခြာမုံကိုလည်းမလှမ်းနှင့်။ အာရုံကိုလည်းမကျွမ်းနှင့်။
ခြာမုံလှမ်းကယားတတ်သည်။ အာရုံကျွမ်းကမှားတတ်သည်။

Roll not in ashes, lest your body should itch.

Roll not in sensual pleasures, lest you should do wrong.

- (7) မခိုင်ဘဲမတက်နှင့်။ မခိုင်ဘဲမကပ်နှင့်။
မခိုင်ဘဲတက်ကကျတတ်သည်။ မခိုင်ဘဲကပ်ကပတတ်သည်။

Ascend not a high object which is not firm, lest you might get a fall.

Embrace not what is not your own, lest you might get nothing.

- (8) တရားကိုလည်းမလွန်စေနှင့်။ စကားကိုလည်းမကွန်စေနှင့်။
တရားကိုလွန်ကပျက်တတ်သည်။ စကားကိုကွန်ကရှက်တတ်သည်။

Do not take an extreme view of the religious laws. If you do so, you may err.

Do not overstate anything. If you do so, you may have cause to blush.

- (9) ကျောက်ဖြူကိုလည်းမနမ်းနှင့်။ အောက်သူကိုလည်းမဝမ်းနှင့်။
ကျောက်ဖြူနမ်းကပုံကပ်မည်။ အောက်သူကိုဝမ်းကတုန်တတ်သည်။

Do not smell a (broken) piece of white marble. If you do so, dust may get on your nose.

Do not try to woo and win a girl of the lower country. If you do so, you may lose all that you have.

- (10) တရွာသားနှင့်ရည်းစားမလုပ်နှင့်။ ဂုဏ်ပါးနှင့်ကြက်သားမထုတ်နှင့်။
တရွာသားနှင့်ရည်းစားလုပ်ကလွမ်းတတ်သည်။ ဂုဏ်ပါးနှင့်ကြက်သားထုတ်ကစွန်
တတ်သည်။

Do not make love to a man from another village. If you do so, you may have to sigh for him.

Do not wrap up any fowl curry in thin cloth. If you do so, it may get soiled.

The value of proverbs is enhanced by the fact that almost all the popular beliefs, customs and superstitions are embodied in them.

Even from the short list that we have given, it will be seen that in order to be well acquainted with the language of a country, a knowledge of proverbs is indispensable.

From No. 5 of the list, one can learn that people at one time practised witch-craft though it is no longer in vogue now; and from Nos. 9 and 10 it is clear that wooing and winning was once a very popular custom among all classes of the people though it is now gravely discountenanced by the elders of the upper class.

Again from No. 2 it is obvious that under the old regime those who were in authority possessed great powers which they could enforce against any show of imitating their mode of life. The custom of eating out of the same dish by several people is also made manifest by this saying.

Now, the author of these unique sayings should not be confounded with another writer of the same name, namely U Pônnya of Sale, who became prominent in the literary world about the same time as the former. The following exquisite couplet was written in praise of U Pônnya of Sale:—

မနိကလင်အေးတဲ့ ခုသဖြေမှန်စေ။ ငြိန်တတ်ရေးတဲ့ ဆွေစလေဦးပုည။ (Sale U Pônnya as seen in his ringing rhymes is as winning as a tender *thabye* bud in a glass of cold water.)

Both these sages were Buddhist priests in their early lives; and when they left orders they were still known by their priestly names. But for the sake of distinction, the former is styled Pothudaw U Pônnya, and the latter who was a native of Sale in the Myingyan District is called Sale U Pônnya.

This U Pônnya of Sale or Sale U Pônnya, the best known Burmese dramatist has also written a number of letters subsequently known as ဦး ဂုဏ် ပေးစာစာ (U Pônnya's letters). They are however of a different type from those of the other writers mentioned above, as he does not pay particular attention either to proverbs or proverbial sayings in the manner of the other writers.

Po BYU.

U PÔNNYA'S WIZAYA.*

(AN ESTIMATE.)

The play opens with a tragic situation and we are ushered into a world of persons in whose actions and motives our interest is roused. A clamouring crowd cries against the lawless deeds of Wizaya, the elder son of the King of Lalayata and is urgent for redress. The king finding that his son is in fault, dispassionately reasons:—မင်းတို့ခွေတာပြည်သူနှင့်သားအချစ်အားဖြင့်မခြားရာ (A ruler should love his people as his own son) and orders the instant death of Wizaya and his band. The Queen's pleading on her son's behalf is valiant but vain. The King silences her by pointing out that love for his subjects makes stern measures imperative. When his ministers cite certain instances of good old Kings who spared the lives of men, he sets aside his order but insists that Wizaya should be sent adrift. His basic motive is the fear lest posterity should breathe upon his fair name as witness his own words:—နာက်ရာဝေဝေ သားကိုနတ် ဖြစ်ကုန်တယ်လို့ အလွှာတင် ရေးမည် (History shall record me as one who loved his son but ruined his country.)

The strife and stress of the early part of the scene gives us an insight into the posture of affairs and promises a tremendous conflict. But we receive a startling surprise. The king metes out justice to his son with philosophic calm and Wizaya accepts his banishment with blank indifference and assures his mother of his perfect readiness to meet his fate. သုံးဘဝမှာ ဆိုဆမမြော် မြင်မြင်သမျှ တည်မာရုံ သင်္ခါရဝံ သေခြေမှ လွှဲမချော် သားတော်မမီးမိလ္လဟိ (Everything that is seen in the three abodes is temporal. Since death is the common lot, I accept the inevitable without dread.) The king's unswerving devotion to duty does not conflict violently with his paternal love. He brushes aside personal considerations with smug self-satisfaction, and remains inflexible to the end. The queen's staggering sorrow does not reveal the emotions contending in her husband's breast. The present scene is in striking contrast with the banishment scene in *Richard II* (Act I, Scene III). Richard banishes his cousin Bolingbroke the country and the latter replies:—

Your will be done: this must my comfort be,
That sun that warms you here shall shine on me;
And those his golden beams to you here lent
Shall point on me and gild my banishment.

Gaunt agrees to the banishment of his son Bolingbroke, but when the heavy doom is pronounced, he takes it hard. The following dialogue shows the play of emotions in his breast:—

K. Richard—Thy son is banish'd upon good advice,
Whereto thy tongue a party-verdict gave:
Why at our justice seem'st thou then to lour?

* We publish this article in the hopes that it will evoke replies from lovers of U Ponna.
Ed tor.

Gaunt—Things sweet to taste prove in digestion sour.
 You urged me as a judge; but I had rather
 You would have bid me argue like a father.

Moreover, Bolingbroke leaves his country in sullen sorrow. Though Wizaya shows no such feelings, he has neither the defiant spirit of Coriolanus who tells his weeping kith and kin:—

Come, leave your tears: a brief farewell: the beast
 With many heads butts me away.

nor the chilling bluntness of Kent who fiercely retorts:—

Fare thee well, king: since thus thou wilt appear,
 Freedom lives hence, and banishment is here.

The competing forces in the first scene seem to be the king's smarting sense of duty and the queen's living love for her son.

The second scene merely helps the progress of the play. The *Thagyamin* (king of *nats*) commissions a *nat* (fairy) to see that Wizaya arrives safely at the Lingadipa Island (Ceylon) which is the haunt of ogres. It is interesting to compare U Pônnya's use of the supernatural element with that of Shakespeare. In Shakespeare, the supernatural never appears as an overwhelming force though it always gives an added impulse to the inner movements already at work. The ghost confirms Hamlet's suspicion. When Brutus is troubled by a sense of failure, Caesar's ghost gives him an ominous warning "Thou shalt see me at Phillippi." Again the witches merely give utterance to the thought that is gathering strength in Macbeth's bosom. In all Shakespearean tragedies, the result of human action forms the central point. But in U Pônnya, supernatural agencies often save men from perils and difficulties which are beyond human control. His method appeals immensely to the Burmese audience who believe that the deeds done in their past existences (*karma*) exercise, for good or ill, commanding influence on their lives. It is similar to the working of fate in the Attic drama. An irresistible power superior to man is represented as shaping human destiny.

In the next scene we see Wizaya arrive at Ceylon by supernatural intervention. Then, the fairy messenger of the *Thagyamin* appears to Wizaya in the guise of a monk and tests his mettle by speaking of the ogres that infest the island. Wizaya's reply shows his dauntless daring:— အပည့်အမျိုးအရိုးအမြစ်၊ အနွယ်ကိုစစ်လိုက်လျှင်၊ ကရာဇ်ဌား၊ မိယေဝံဘကြီးသား၊ လားလားရှာမပြီဟူ။ (Of a race of kings am I, Wizaya is my name, and dangers I dare.) The *nat* being eminently satisfied with Wizaya's manliness, gives him holy water and thread to charm away the dangers of the land.

The fourth scene introduces Kuwunna, the niece of the ogre-king of Ceylon and glides into the next scene (V) where she disguises herself as a *Beikkuni* (nun), seizes two of Wizaya's followers, and at last encounters Wizaya himself who at once unmasks her. This scene seems to be the most effective. The verbal thrust and parry between Wizaya and Kuwunna lays bare to a certain extent the graduation of profound hatred into unctuous admiration. Wizaya at first threatens to kill Kuwunna out of hand, but at last spares her life on being promised the overlordship of the island. Then, she transforms herself into a woman of bewitching beauty. She reminds us

strongly of Marlowe's Helen "clad in the the beauty of a thousand stars," and the description given of her is picturesquely splendid: မာလာငွေဖေါ်၊ ခွေလျှော့လျှော့၊ ခြေတော့ပဲ့ပဲ့။ (Frail as a flower wrought in silver is thy fair form. We gaze on thy beaming face and are loth to look away.) Indeed, it challenges comparison with Marlowe's close-knit lines:—

Was this the face that launch'd a thousand ships,
And burnt the topless towers of Ilium?
Sweet Helen, make me immortal with a kiss.

It is small wonder that Wizaya becomes a slave to her charms. She expresses her doubts about his good faith. But he drives away her fears and professes his undying love.

In scene VI the ogre-king of Lingadipa celebrates his marriage in state in the ethereal regions. The tension is low, but it prepares us for the crisis depicted in the next scene (VII) where Wizaya rises to the height of his power by the help of Kuwunna. It is agreed upon that Kuwunna should join the aerial crowd in high carnival, and that Wizaya should send his supernatural arrow at a given signal. The Prince on hearing her voice, draws his bow in the direction from which the voice proceeded. The shaft strikes home and kills the ogre-king. Thus, Wizaya obtains a complete sway over the island. Here, we come to the climax of the play. Kuwunna's misgivings prove too true. Wizaya makes his ministers go in search of a princess who should be his consort. They arrive at the court of the king of Maduya and ask him to bestow his daughter's hand on Wizaya. Contrary feelings invade the king's breast. He has no desire to send his daughter away to a far-off isle, yet is unwilling to give a blank refusal. He at last gives his consent on grounds of political expediency and apprises his daughter of the fact. Her appeal goes straight to our hearts. သိုးတော်ငယ်၊ လှသက်လယ်ကို တနယ်ရင်ဝေးတကွန်းသို့ ပေးမယ်လို့ အရေးတော်ပုံနိ၊ ကြံရာခက်ခဲ၊ ရွှေရင်ထဲ၊ ရွှေသဲတုန်လိုက်ပါဘိတော့၊ ခမည်းတော်တုရား။ (Dread Sire, thy darling child departs to a distant land by dire decree. Ah me! Wild fears surge in my stormy breast.) The Princess as well as her father presents a somewhat interesting psychological study. But we are given only a ghostly glimpse of the internal struggle.

The following scene (VIII) describes how the Princess arrives at her destination and how Wizaya discards Kuwunna without much effort. The scene might have been turned to better purpose with far greater effect. We do not see Wizaya torn by conflicting passions and his chief reason for casting off Kuwunna is this:—လူဝတ္ထုနှင့်၊ ထီးကြာမိုင်တွင်၊ ဘိသိက်ခံလျှင်၊ ထုံးစံပျောက်ကွယ်။ (Ancient custom will be abrogated by ascending the throne in state with Kuwunna.) Kuwunna reminds him of her past kindness and appeals touchingly but to no purpose. She tells with painful accuracy many home-truths regarding man's faithlessness. အသစ်တယ်မြင်လျှင်၊ ခင်မင်ရန်၊ ခွေးငယ်ကပေါင်း၊ အတောင်းကို ခေတတ်တဲ့၊ လေ့ထုံးစံကို။ (A new love makes man forget the old and changes his affections to suit the newer day.) Wizaya after reigning for a long reach of years gives up hope of getting an issue. However, he sends his ministers to his native land in order to ask his brother Thumeikta to come over and be his successor.

The mission of the ministers is described in the following scene (X). They learn that Wizaya's father had already passed away and that in his

place Thumeikta reigns. Thumeikta not wishing to disappoint his brother's hopes sends his son Banduwathudewa. Scene XI which is extremely short gives an account of Wizaya's abdication of the crown and his life as a recluse. Three days after the abdication, Banduwathudewa reaches the island and ascends the throne. Here the play may be considered to come to a close. The final scene (XII) is purely a side issue and can well be spared. It tells us how seven kings resort to force of arms on being refused the hand of the daughter of the King of Kappilawut. In order to quell all strife the King eventually places his daughter on a raft and sends it adrift. By supernatural agency she reaches the Lingadipa Island and becomes the Queen. The repetition of what seems to us an impossible situation recalls the romances of medieval literature.

From what we have seen, it is obvious that the play is simple and symmetric and that it makes no attempt at complexity and contrast. In this respect it bears an astounding resemblance to the Aeschylean type of tragedy. Like all Burmese plays, its chiefest concern seems to be to describe action for itself and not as a means of portraying character. It worms itself into our affections by its skilful story-telling and dainty description rather than by its character study and force of emotion.

But in a drama of the very first class, we have a right to expect not only momentous action but compelling characterization. The *dramatis personae* should express their inmost thoughts and feelings in appropriate dialogue. Moreover, they must be individual and typical in a breath. We should see in them not only distinct personages but men of like passions with us. For such portrayal the dramatist must first of all have a supple mastery over human emotion. He should dig deep into the recesses of human nature and bring up invaluable finds. Now, these discoveries find best expression in a mighty conflict or bewilderment which forms the driving force of a tragedy. In fact, the greatest achievements of the drama have been celebrated in the realm of tragedy. And why? It is because tragedy is an extension of life in its noblest and intensest side.

But it is action not emotion which seems to interest U Pônnya most. In consequence, he neither chooses to analyse character with thoroughness nor to reveal the springs of action with a flash. This is the spoil of him as a supreme dramatist. In characterization he takes what in mathematics would be called a *static* view. Each personage is described once and for all at the outset. The development of character, the subtlety of emotions, the variations of motive are not much in evidence. The hero strikes us throughout the play as a superman who is full-hearted in all his actions. We do not see the action of event upon character, much less the influence of character upon event.

If our dramatist is not over-careful in character-drawing, he is great at construction. His play is well-knit and the different parts are nicely swung together. With the exception of the closing scene, scarcely any incident can be displaced or omitted without impairing the formative excellence of the play. Thus, deft construction in a measure makes up for defective characterization.

The crowning distinction of the play however seems to be its vocal melody, its cunning workmanship of sounds, its flow of syllables. Though its triumphs of expression take away our breath, it is difficult to pick out individual and divisible beauties. The play leaves an impression on us as a self-sufficient whole. The passages we have already quoted are sufficient evidences of its poetic dignity and splendour.

When all that can be said has been said, the play takes rank as a dramatic poem of the front rank rather than as a poetic drama of the first order.. To say this, is perhaps enough in its praise.

BA HAN.

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

PHILOLOGICAL CURIOSITIES IN A COMPARATIVE STUDY.

(CORRESPONDENCE.)

To

MRS. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, M. A.

Honorary Secretary, Pali Text Society, England.

Dear Madam,

As instructed by you I have submitted to Professor Rhys Davids a comparative list of Burmese, Pali (or Sanscrit) and English (or European) words with a forwarding letter which runs to over 10 pages. I hope the Professor will excuse the length of the letter, because Burmese is a language which I consider is not yet cultivated in the West. I do not, of course, expect him to endorse half of what I said. I have studied very little of English philology, still less of European comparative philology, and I shall be extremely thankful to you if you will recommend me the best work on the latter subject. But the list I send will, I hope, after being boiled down to a reasonable dimension favourably compare with any comparative list hitherto prepared between any two languages in quantity as well as in quality. How shall we best account for the similarity, coincidence and parallelism of so many words in languages widely separated in time and space?

In some cases I am obliged to differ from Prof. August Fick of Breslau. For example, he derived English words "sear" and "sere" from Sanscrit "sush"—to be dry. But I am inclined to derive them from Pali "silis"—to burn—. He seems to have derived the English word "wheel" from Sanscrit "Cakra" in his list of Indo-Germanic roots published in the Webster's Dictionary. I am sorry I fail to see any connection.

Seeing that different etymologists derive a word differently, much in the same way as one and the same Pali scholar derives a Pali word in more than one way, the science of etymology is more or less a system of scientific guesses. For this reason I do not always feel bound to follow the accepted derivations of English dictionaries. E. g. My dictionary tells me that English word "chief" was derived from Latin "caput"—head. But I prefer to derive it (not necessarily by direct descent) from Pali root "khi"—to rule. It may be that "cap" in the expression "to captain" was connected, in the same way as our Burmese "kyap" or "krap"—to superintend, with the same root. But since the head rules the body, the head might have come to be called "caput" in Latin. Prof. Peile thought "d" in "gownd" of Provincial English was an addition as in the word "sound." But if *d* of the Pali root "gund"—to wrap, was not dropped in "gown" as in our "coñ"—a wrapper, or "khyum"—to wrap up, it would argue that *d* was a later addition in Pali. Prof. Peile dealt with cases first and then with parts of speech, treating adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions as petrified cases. I should think that

these small words were once fuller words atrophied into particles which, in turn, were petrified and crystallized into case-endings. These small words or signs cannot now be satisfactorily explained. Therefore some of my attempted explanations may be, at their best, but reasonable guesses. But still, how are we to account for the remarkable agreement between our *laññ*: (pron. *lī*: meaning "also") and English "ly," "lic" or "like"? Compare our *laññ*: *koñ*: (pron. *lī*: *koñ*:) meaning "ditto," with Dutch *lijken* or Gothic *leiken* or *leikon*.

Yours cordially,

S. Z. AUNG,

Myaungmya, 12th July, 1916.

To

PROF. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS,
University of Manchester.

Sir,

It is admitted on all hands that Burmese is indebted to Pali for such technical loan-words as philosophical terms. But I have recently discovered that a large part of its vocabulary of *common* words are of Ariyan origin. In fact, Burmese is so permeated with Pali that it would be no exaggeration to say that we cannot speak a purely Burmese sentence without some Pali in disguise; for fifty per cent of Pali words in Burmese would be an under-estimate. I then formed a tentative theory that our vocabulary was for the most part derived from Pali *by descent*. If this theory were recognized the kinship between Burmese and European languages would follow as a natural and necessary corollary. And I prepared three short comparative tables for publication in the Burma Research Society's Journal. I have since succeeded in developing comparative Burmese philology to an extent exhibited in the accompanying list which, though formidable, does not pretend to be exhaustive. Allowing for my errors of judgment in a matter of this kind, you will reject all impossible examples. And after eliminating some doubtful examples, I think enough will be left as a basis for discussion.

2. In the Burmese column, I have not phonetically spelt Burmese words but spelt them as they are *now* written. But since we have to deal with the spoken language, a few notes on Burmese phonology are necessary.

First, as regards vowel sounds:—

- (a) The vowels *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *e* and *o* are as in Pali;
- (b) The vowel *è* with a heavy accent is as in French;
- (c) The vowel *ô* with a circumflex is as in the English word *or*. In English you call it short when compared to *ō* long, but in Burmese we regard it as longer than Pali *o*;
- (d) The peculiar combination *iu* in Burmese is as *ō* long in English; e. g., as *o* in *oh!* or in *though*. But when this combination is followed by *k*, *t*, *ṭ*, *d* or *ṇ*, its pronunciation changes to that of *ai*;
- (e) A dot under a long vowel represents a light accent which marks the checked tone in Burmese. By checked tone, I mean that it

is lower in pitch than the normal tone by shortening the long vowel in quantity. In Burmese a short vowel before a final nasal is considered to be long;

- (f) The colon marks indicate the grave accent of the preceding long vowel. E. g., *mī:* is pronounced like *me* in English; *mū:*, as *oo* in *mood*; *e:*, as *ay* in *aye* or *day*; and *iu:* (i. e., *ō:*), as in *go* or *low*;
- (g) The final semi-vowel combination *ay* corresponds to *ê* in French; and
- (h) The final double combination *aññ* is not a nasal but a semi-vowel sounded as *ī* long.

Secondly, as regards Burmese consonants, the following peculiarities may be noted:—

- (a) *Ch* is not pronounced as in *church* or in *loch*, but as *s* in *see*, *saw*, or *scent*. The Burmese *c* is, then, an unaspirated *s*; it is *s* without the hissing sound or it is hard *z*. Englishmen who have never been out to Burma will not be able to correctly pronounce it;
- (b) *J* is sounded like *z*;
- (c) *V* is pronounced as *w*;
- (d) *S* is pronounced often as *th* in *thin*, but sometimes as in *they*;
- (e) The Arakanese people can pronounce *r* distinctly, but Burmans glide into *y*;
- (f) *Rh*, *yh*, *lhy*, *sy* are sounded as *sh*.

3. A paper on Burmese phonetics has as yet to be written. But I may briefly indicate here a few principal Burmese phonetic laws.—

- (a) *I*, *ī* (or its equivalent *aññ*), *e*, *è*, *ê* (i. e. final *ay*) are interchangeable as in Pali; only, in Pali we have no *è*;
- (b) *U*, *ū*, *o*, *ô*, *ō* and *ava* are interchangeable as in Pali which has no *ô* *ō*;
- (c) Palatals and gutturals freely interchange;
- (d) Palatals and gutturals sometimes interchange with dentals;

Ky is phonetically spelt *ty* in *Half the Battle in Burmese* by Mr. G. E. R. Grant-Brown on the authority of Dr. Sweet;

- (e) Dentals and labials sometimes interchange.
- (f) Nasals freely interchange among themselves;
- (g) *L* changes with a nasal;
- (h) The aspirated and the unaspirated freely interchange;
- (i) *Y* and *r* interchange;
- (j) *D* changes to *r*;
- (k) *Y* or *r* and *l* interchange;
- (l) *Y* or *r* and *g* or *j* interchange;
- (m) *G* or *j* interchanges with *s* or *c*;
- (n) *Y* or *r* interchanges with *s* or *c*;
- (o) *S* interchanges with *t* or *k* and their aspirates;
- (p) *V* becomes *b*; and

- (q) At one time there was a tendency of a sonant changing into a surd as evidenced in inscriptions. But the modern tendency appears to be in the opposite direction.

Some of the above rules are peculiar to the Burmese tongue. But others you will recognise as of general application. E. g., the extension of Grimm and Verner's laws.

4. In the second column I have not been able to trace some corresponding Pali words or roots and I have occasionally inserted Sanscrit. But I am no Sanscrit scholar and you will be able to trace more to that language. You will also please correct my mistakes in transcription of foreign words from English dictionaries and supply more words from European languages in the remarks column.

5. A full comment on the list would occupy a volume and I will therefore content myself with noticing a few salient features:—

- (a) The large number of words similar in sounds and almost identical in meanings;
- (b) The parallelism between certain synonyms such as the following:—
 Kvañ:—camp; Krañ or Kyañ—grin;
 Prañ—plain; Krin: or Kyin:—grain (obs.) or groan;
 Lvañ—lawn; Kraññ; or Kyaññ:—grieve.

Or the existence of such pairs of synonyms as the following:—

Phak, rvak—foil, leaf;
 Khyuñ, phut—jungle, bush;
 Khun, lhvā:—jump, leap;
 Pin, lin—pine, lean;
 Rhvañ, bhvak—swamp, bog;
 Vam:, biuk—womb, bag (Celtic).
 Kruñ, Rhuñ—crumple, rumple.

- (c) The existence of such homonyms as the following:—

Krī:—(in)crease, from \sqrt{ci} —to increase;
 Krī:—great, from \sqrt{kir} —to extend;
 Krī: chief, from \sqrt{khi} —to rule.

- (d) The existence of such doublets as the following:—

Toñ:, tañ:—ton, tun;
 Pañ, pan:—pain, pang.

- (e) The existence of such contraries as—Near, far (fer)

- (f) The similar manner in which certain words were formed. E. g. We find that the sonant b changed into the surd p and the palatal j to the guttural k in both Burmese pok and English poke, from \sqrt{buj} —to bore. Again, we find that not only l changed into r, perhaps with a more or less universal tendency of the human tongue, but we also find that the vowel u was weakened into i in both the Anglo-Saxon rip and the Burmese rip—to reap from $\sqrt{lū}$ —to cut.

6. From the large number of words I select the following for the purposes of my hypothesis which I shall presently advance:—

- (a) Bodily organs—body, womb, belly, spleen, face, mouth, nose;
- (b) Discharges from body—excreta, sig, sweat, mucus;
- (c) Near relationships—Apart from the universal Ma and Pa for mother and father—son, child, uncle, nephew and niece;
- (d) Numerals—one, six, eight, ten;
- (e) Mode of living—home, thatch;
- (f) Clothing—tippet, gown, corset, wear;
- (g) Utensils and implements—cup, bowl, basin, spoon; lance, dirk, dag or dagger;
- (h) Personal ornaments—beads, pearl;
- (i) Foodstuffs—corn, peas, beans; meat; salt, mustard, ginger, saffron; sugar, milk; mushrooms, eggs;
- (j) Animals and insects—dog, cock, crow; bee, beetle; gnat, mosquito;
- (k) Hunting—jungle, wood, bush, down, chasm; deer, stag, sambur; leg (bow);
- (l) Fishing—row, yawl, scale (shell), net, stream;
- (m) Agriculture—camp, plain, lawn; swamp, bog; lay, till, muck; sow, seed, crop; reap, grain, ton, tun, wagon, poke; graze;
- (n) Superstition—puck, bogey.

These factors and other considerations necessitate a modification of my tentative theory of descent from Pali.

7. My present hypothesis, shortly put, is as follows:—

There was one primitive race somewhere in Central Asia or Eastern Europe. I may call it pre-Ariyan in the absence of a better term. That community lived in huts roofed with barks or hides which they afterwards replaced with thatch. They moved about on yawls on inland streams to fish with nets and collect shells. They hunted deer, stag and sambur in jungles and over downs. They clothed themselves with barks, leaves or skins and adorned their body with beads. They were superstitious and believed in personified elements. They worshipped the god of the woods and set apart the fourth day of the week for its propitiation. This god may be identified with the highest Teutonic god Woden corresponding to the supreme deity Odin of the Scandinavians. They collected mushrooms on plains and honey in bushes. But they had considerably advanced in agriculture when they divided into two great branches—Ariyan and Mongolian. They manured their fields with farm-yard manure, muck; grew corn and pulse and raised condiment crops. They measured their grains in tons and carried them in wagons and stored them in pokes. They grazed their cattle and milked their cows. But the duty of milking had not been specially assigned to daughters. They manufactured unrefined sugar. They bartered their produce. The division took place long before Icelanders, who were the van-guard of the waves of Ariyan migration, became isolated in their present Island home, after the later Ariyan dispersal which must have taken place centuries before the primitive language could develop into Vedic Sanscrit and still longer before Vedic hymns could be composed and sung by the learned along the valley of the Ganges.

8. Against the over-whelming mass of positive evidence collected in my comparative list for such a hypothesis, there are two pieces of negative evidence which I must notice.

First as regards the absence of such Burmese words as etymologically answer to "brother" and "daughter," we know that "nephew" at one time did duty for "brother," "cousin" and "grandson." Our word *nī*, meaning "brother," from \sqrt{nij} —to be born, corresponds to "nephew" in one of the three senses and probably at one time it expressed all near male relationships except those of father and uncle. Again, our word *nī*:, a term, from the same root, applied now to any woman, etymologically corresponds to English *nee* and is akin to *niece*. Like its male counterpart, it probably at one time expressed all female relationships except that of mother. The words "brother" and "daughter" had not yet come into existence when the primitive race divided, though they were no doubt introduced in the Ariyan branch before the dispersion. Therefore this does not affect my pre-Ariyan hypothesis any more than the absence of an English word to etymologically answer to the later Sanscrit *putra* or Pali *putta* affects the theory that English is Ariyan.

Secondly, as regards the absence in Burmese of numerals corresponding to "two," "three," "four," "five," "seven" and "nine" we may assume that new names for such numerals had not replaced older ones.

9. After division each branch and its subdivisions developed along different paths on different lines. The Mongolian branch retains for the most part the monosyllabic feature of the isolating stage of the primitive language, becoming more or less agglutinative and tending to be more and more inflectional. In Burmese, I have noticed in my last paper on Burmese philology a tendency to monosyllabification. On the other hand, Pali, Sanscrit and Latin of the Ariyan branch went through all these three stages of isolation, agglutination and amalgamation more rapidly than the rest until they became too inflectional to last long as spoken languages and they became dead.

And when Burmese afterwards came into contact with Sanscrit through intercourse and with Pali through Buddhism, much in the same way as English came into contact with Latin and the Romance languages, it borrowed later words from them.

10. On my hypothesis it is not necessary that we should always be able to trace corresponding Pali or Sanscrit words between Burmese and European words. Even the roots may have undergone changes both in form and sound when severally appropriated from the common stock by different nations after division and dispersal. Thus Pali or Sanscrit roots as preserved in earliest grammatical works may not be identical with primitive roots. E. g. We trace both Burmese *pra* and English *splay* to the Pali root *bal*—to show. But who can say that the primitive root was not *pal*? If it were *pal*, it would show that English and Burmese derived their respective words from the pre-Ariyan root before the division. But, if it were *bal*, it would rather strengthen my case by showing that the identical method of changing the sonant to the surd, contrary to the present tendency, was adopted before parting of the nations; for if English derived their word from the primitive Ariyan race

before dispersion and we derived our own from Pali afterwards, it was not likely that identical methods would have been followed, unless we assume that the same tendency was present in the two different peoples at different times. Again, many of the primitive roots might have died out. Further, many older words might have been replaced by later ones. E. g. The Pali word *putto*—a son, through *poto*—a child, from $\sqrt{\text{pu}}$ -to deport, from which English *puerile* was derived, must have been introduced after the Ariyan dispersal.

11. Thus in comparing Burmese and European languages, widely separated in both space and time, it would be sufficient if similar sounds represent similar ideas. In this connection, the correspondence between Burmese and the Scandinavian group of European languages is strikingly remarkable. But if similar sounds represent identical ideas, so much the better. And if we can trace similar sounds with identical meanings to Pali or Sanscrit roots or words, it would strengthen the case still further.

But if the changes involved in vowel and consonantal sounds satisfy any known phonetic laws, it would be a conclusive proof to turn my hypothesis into a theory.

12. I understand that three factors,—vocabulary, character and structure, generally determine the classification of languages into Ariyan and Mongolian.

Judged by the vocabulary, the title of Ariyan cannot in fairness be denied to Burmese. Judged by the character, some call Burmese monosyllabic, though we have dissyllabic and polysyllabic words and many of our seemingly monosyllabic words are in reality polysyllabic. When we say "*krètay*" we are not speaking Burmese but merely transliterating Pali *kirati*—to scatter. Thus *krè* is really dissyllabic, but, owing to the monosyllabic tendency noticed, we fused the two syllables into one. Others say it is agglutinative, though Pali and Sanscrit with their jaw-breaking compounds extending the whole length across a page is the most agglutinative in the world. As a last criterion between a Mongolian and an Ariyan tongue, many would class the former as non-inflectional and the latter as inflectional. But I submit that Burmese is no less inflectional than modern English. If it be urged that Old English was more inflectional, partly owing to its natural development and partly to later Latin influences, I would reply that Old English has gone the way of inflectional languages and is dead. Out of its ashes, like Phoenix, modern English has arisen anew.

13. Theoretically the inflectional stage would be the last of the three phases in the natural and normal development of a language from the simple to the complex. But the fact is that there is no hard and fast line between these three phases. A language at any one time may present all the three aspects in different proportions. In almost every fairly developed language at any stage, there are particles and grammatical signs of the inflectional stage, which cannot be satisfactorily explained.

14. There are indications that Burmese at one time possessed the article *a* which changed into *an* before a vowel or semi-vowel. E. g. A *khan*:—a chamber; A *krī*:—a chief; A *krap*:—a captain; *añ-ve*:—a vapour. Our pronoun *nā*, for "I", seems to be connected with the pronominal base

ma of the first person, with which Pali "mama," "me" and "no," Latin "meum" and English "me," "mine" are connected. Cf. Pali mādiso—like me. Our second personal pronoun sañ—"thou," corresponds to Pali tvañ, as English "thou" and "thine", to the pronominal base tu. Our third personal pronoun sū—"he," answers to Pali so. Our demonstrative pronoun thiū (pron. thō)—that, is connected with the pronominal base ta of the third person. Our ī, is nearer to Pali idañ than English "this," which, however, corresponds to Burmese saññ (pron. like the English definite article "the.") Our interrogatives bhay and bhā correspond to why, how, what, where. In Burmese adjectives are formed by affixing to stems "so" which corresponds to Pali suffix ta; and adverbs are formed by affixing to adjectival stems cvā- (pron. zvā) which corresponds to English "so," "such," Old English swa, Angli-Saxon swā, Icelandic svā, svō and Dutch zoo. Our mhya corresponds to Pali matta or Sans. matra and English "mere" from $\sqrt{mā}$ or \sqrt{mi} —to measure, and mhya-laññ: (pron. mhya-lī:) answers to English "merely." Our laññ: (or lī:) therefore corresponds to the English adverbial *ly*, Anglo-Sax. *lice*, Semi-Saxon *liche*. This is interesting, as in both languages the particle means "like." We render the English word "also" by laññ: or laññ: koñ: and we adopt the latter expression to mean a ditto and "ditto" adverbially means *also*. Thus "also" would mean "like so" and I am of humble opinion that *al* is not the contraction of "all," but *li* (or *la*) transposed. Other cases of transposition I shall notice later. Our adverbial siu (pron. sō) is exactly English "so." So also our pañ (pron. bañ) is English "even" corresponding to Old Saxon and Old High German eban.

Next we have our postpositions answering to English prepositions. Our postposition siu (pron. sō) corresponds to English "to." Our compound postposition ā: siu (pron. ā: sō) corresponds to the English preposition "toward," only the two parts are transposed. In English the expression "toward North" may be expressed by "North-ward" which corresponds to our Mrok-bhak. Here we see that Burmese *bh* corresponds to English *w*. Burmese scholars derived *bhak* from *bhāgo*—a portion. But whatever be its origin, *bhak* in Burmese has come to mean "side."

Our postposition tiuñ (pron. taiñ) corresponds to English "till." Our word is ati-antam (lit. to endmost) with rough edges rubbed off, so to speak, by constant use, because in Pali the idea denoted by such words as "till" is said to be accanta-samyoga—a sound connection with extreme limit. Cf. German *ziel* meaning end, limit, object. I shall show later that this idea is expressed in the inflectional Pali by the accusative, when I come to speak of the cases. Therefore our compound postposition tiuñ-oñ (pron. taiñ-oñ) is transposed in English "until," or "unto," or "on-to."

Our postposition apô, answering to Pali upari, corresponds to English above, over, upon. The nounal and adjectival use of it as the English "above" points to its having been once a noun.

Our alvan, used adverbially—corresponds to English "a-yond."

The Burmese conjunction nhañ corresponds to English "and," and was probably derived from \sqrt{nandh} —to connect. Akay, khè or kè (pron. gè) is

no doubt akin to Pali *ce*. Our forms compare well with Latin *que* and Greek *kai*. *C* or *g* became *Y* and we got *Yvè* to correspond to *yadi* in Pali and *ief* in Old Friesian.

It is a notable feature of the Burmese language to use synonyms in combination and we find the compound form *akay-yvè* as sometimes we find *sace yadi* in Pali. But to suggest that Old Friesian *gef* and Old English *gif* were the corruptions of *ce* rather than of the verb "give" would be adjudged to be the height of presumption on my part.

Our conjunction (*sa*) *tè* or (*sa*) *tat* corresponding to English "that" introducing an indirect narration, is akin to Pali *iti*. English "although" corresponds to our *sô laññ*: (pron. *sô-li*:) with the two parts transposed. We have tried to show under the word "also" that *al* itself was a transposition of *li* (or *la*).

Burmese interjection *phvī* is English *Fie!*

Thus in every part of speech we have words answering to English.

15. As regards inflection, even the pre-Ariyan language seems to have developed some of the cases before division.

You have no doubt noticed that no native Pali Grammarians can explain why their nominative case ending *si* is changed into *o* in the masculine; *ā*, in the feminine; and *m*, in the neuter. I take it that the nominative case termination of the primitive language was something like *osi*. In Greek *s* was retained as in *oiko-s*; in Pali *si* was dropped; and in Burmese *o* was dropped and *sī*, now written *saññ*, is retained. Further, in Burmese the idea of agency is expressed by *saññ* (pron. *sī*) A barber is called *chattā-sī* cutter-he). Cf. *Gaius*=John-he. The Burmese genitive is expressed by a grammatical sign which is pronounced *i*. I am inclined to think that the the genitive ending of the primitive language was something like *issa*, of which we retain *i*, English, 's (or older *es*) and Pali, *ssa*. Cf. Latin *ei-us*, and Greek *io* in *demo-io*. Our *i* seems to be reflected in *boni*, the genitive of *bonus* (*bonos*). Other cases do not appear to have developed when the two branches separated.

The Burmese accusative is expressed by *kiu* (which corresponds to Hindustani *ko* in sound and in meaning) or *siu* (pron. *sō*). These correspond to English preposition "to." German *zu* and Old High German *zuo*, *zō*. In Pali, as remarked before, the idea denoted by "till" is expressed by the accusative, showing that this case was a later development. I am inclined to think that "to" was the corruption of "till" Cf. "gang till him" of the Scandinavian settlements in England for 'go to him'; and the Pali termination *m* was probably *ti-an* worn down by use. The Burmese dative is expressed by *ā*: corresponding to Latin *ad*. or *siu* (pron. *sō*). I have pointed out under postpositions that the combination corresponds to "toward" with parts transposed. It might have been worn down to *asso* from which we got our forms and Pali, its dative termination *ssa*. The Burmese instrumentive is expressed by *kroñ* from *kāraṇaṁ*—a cause. It is also expressed by *phrañ* or *ā*: *phrañ* which corresponds to English words "of" and "from," in the same way as the instrument or agent could be denoted by *ab* in Latin. This shows

that the instrumentive can also be expressed by the ablative as in Latin in which the work of the lost instrumentive was done by the ablative. The instrumentive is further expressed by our conjunction *nhañ*, which is sociative as well as instrumental like English "with." The similarity and coincidence in the instrumental usage of a sociative is striking E. g. "I cut him *with* a knife"—I cut him *and* a knife cuts him—I *and* a knife cut him. The Burmese ablative is expressed by *mha* or *ka*. *Mha* was probably from *mā* which, in turn, was from *pa*. *Pa* was from *apa* corresponding to *ab*—"of," as 'from' was from *apra*.

The Burmese locative is expressed by *mhā*, *nhiuk*, *tvañ*. The first of these would point to a time when the ablative might have been used locatively. Is not "on-to" a transposition of our *tvañ*? These locative signs are generally preceded by *apô* (above or upon).

Our postpositions occupy the same position as case terminations and are entitled to be called by the latter name.

These grammatical signs were no doubt separate words at the isolating stage, petrified particles glued on to main words at the agglutinative stage, but are now so worn down and crystallized and amalgamated that they are past recovery for separate use at this inflectional stage.

For these reasons I submitted that Burmese is not less inflectional than English. So inflection as a criterion between a Mongolian and an Ariyan must fail.

16. Finally, judged by the structure or syntax, Burmese is nearer to the model Ariyan Pali or Sanscrit in form than English is. In English the objective case comes after the verb whereas in Burmese it comes before the verb as in Pali. Our verbal termination *saññ* (pron. *sī*) is often contracted into *i*. English reversing the Burmese procedure as in other instances of transposition noticed, seems to have dropped *i* and retains only *s*. Our colloquial ending *tay* corresponds to Pali *ti*. But in Burmese *s* and *t* are interchangeable.

The Pali imperative *tu* corresponds to Burmese *to* which also changes to *ro* or *lo*. The Pali optative *eyyā* answers to Burmese *yā* (writ. *rā*).

There are, of course, a host of other signs which we probably will never be able to explain.

17. But I think I have sufficiently shown that some of these philological curiosities would be inexplicable except on my hypothesis. The hypothesis is a bold one. Either it is the wildest speculation which will afford amusement to European philologists or the discovery of Burmese is as important as that of Sanscrit. I mean that Burmese bids fair to be a very effective instrument of research in comparative philology. Needless to add that I incline to the latter view. Now, Sir, I shall be much obliged if you will give me the benefit of your knowledge and experience, and I beg you to favour me with your views on the subject, which I, with your permission, propose to publish in the Burma Research Society's Journal.

Yours sincerely,

SHWE ZAN AUNG,

Myaungmya, 12th July, 1916.

A COMPARATIVE LIST OF BURMESE AND ENGLISH

WORDS.			
Burmese.	Pali.	English.	Remarks.
Akay	Sace, ce.	if, gif.	c=k=g; i=e=ay.
Akay-rvè	ce—yadi	gif, if	O fries. gef, ief. r=y.
Akyum:	} antima—inmost	intimate, acquaint	t=k.
Akyvam:			
Akre: (dirt)	√kilis—to be defiled.	excreta	r=l.
Akre:	jalaja—shell.	scale	Goth. skalja-a tile; F. écaille J=K or C. In Burmese J is sounded like Z.
A khan:	√khand—to de-vide	a camera, chamber	'A' in this example corresponds to the English article 'a.' European philologists derive camera from √kam. to bend.
A khoñ:	√khumb—to be obstructed	a hole	Cf. corn=horn.
Añ	{ Angā—part ?Añsala—strong	?energy	It looks as if the article 'a' becomes 'an' before V which is pronounced in Burmese as the semi-vowel W.
Añ-ve			
	√ve—to dry up.	vapour	
Ac	ek—one	a, each	AS. hat; Sw. het. In Burmese iu=o as in <i>oh, though</i> ,. but=ai when followed by k or ñ.
Ac, at, aiuk	√hi—to be hot	hot, heat	
Ac-to draw out information.	√add—to ask	ask	
Aca	ādyā, ādi	origin	L. origo; dy=j or c; d=r.
A-cak	√cutt—to be little	a jot	Cf. dot
Acā:	atasa, a dress made of bark or skin	attire	G. zier.

Burmese.	Pali	English.	Remarks.	
A ce	√ci—to collect or bind	a seed	In Burmese ch is sound- ed like S as in <i>see, sea</i> .	
Acô	√ku—to smell	odour	Gr. ozo; k=e=z; z=d.	
A chan	√camb—to eat	corn, kernel, a grain	Dan., Sw., Icel. and G. kern; Russ. zerna.	
Acvan:	} anto—end	extreme		
Achum:				
A cvan,				
A khyvan				
Achâ	Aka—pain	ulcer, sore	L. ulcus: As. and Icel. sar.	
A kum,	} √gumb—to sum up	a sum		
a cum- the whole				
Atvañ:	anto—inside	inside, interior,	(ñay—small, in atan— ñay, is a synonym of atan or tan.)	
Atan	√tanu—to be small	attenuate		
A tut	?dhura—a burden	a tax, a toll	OS. and OHG. nāh; Icel. nā; see nī:	
An	√vam	vomit, emetic		
A nā:	Ama—near, or pref. ni or √nid—to be near	near, nigh		
A pok	√buj—to bore	apert (obs) aperture, pore poke		u=o; j=k; b=p.
Apa	apa—from	of	L, ab, our prañ in prañpa =from.	
Apô	upari	agove, over, up	d=k; d=r.	
A piuk	pāda—foot	a paragraph		
A-pañ	?phalañ	?a plant, a beam	D. boom—a tree.	
A prā:	Sans. pra	a variety various		
Aprac	Apa √rādh—to transgress	upbraid, a fault	aparajjhati—to upbraid Cf. impeach from L. impedicare.	
A phak-an associate	pakkha—a side	a part, partizan	OHG. maz; Goth. mats.	
Aphyañ:	Sans. plihan	spleen		
Amēsa	Āmisa	meat		
A mrat-a profit	?	nett		
Amriuk	Sans. Amarita	ambrosia, (?) nectar	t=k.	
A mū	√mūl—to cause to be	demure, a mode	O F. murs.	

Burmese.	Pali	English.	Remarks.
Arvay, ayvay	} Āyu	age	u=ava; r=y=g.
Avañ		√av—to enter	F. avent.
Aluñ:, ā: lum:	{ } { ?āla—extensive, or alaṃ— enough	all	{ } { Burmese forms suggest 'a lump' Luñ: in Burmese also means 'round.' Cf. 'all round.'
A sañ		√sañ—to pro- duce sound	
A sut	√sutt—to knot	a suite, (?) a set	
An		(?) wonder	
Āma, añ:	āma, āmantā	amen, (?) admit	
Ā: lap	alasyañ-idling	leisure	
Ā; siu		toward	See letter to Prof. Rhys Davids.
I	ssa	es, 's.	A genitive sign.
Ip	√il—to sleep	?sleep	D. and G. heim; Dan.
Im	ditto.	home, Inn	hiem; Icel. heimr; OE. ham, 'AS. hēm.
Ū	√u—to make a noise. Origin- ally onomato- poetic	howl, hue, hoot	
E:		aye	
O	√ūh—to exert	urge, exhort, hortative	As in chô-o-to exhort.
Aiu (pron. ō)	√ūn—to decay or (?) uru— big	old, hoar, hoary	
U	√udi—to flow	ooz	di=z.
U	√udi—to pro- duce	egg, ovum	di=g; u=av=ov.
U: mañ:, ū: yañ		uncle	Lith. avyanas. Cf. ū: yañ of Thayetmyo with Lahu or Mu Hso awnyē.
Ī	idañ—this	this	
Īkèsiu	{ } ?idiso	this-so (thus)	
Isiu so			
Isiu pañ	?iccevañ	this-so-even	
Kaṇ	√kam—to go	kick	Cf. M. E. kiken with Burmese kyok-kañ-to kick.

Burmese.	Pali	English.	Remarks.
Karā:, kharā: a pitcher	√khar—to pour	jar, jug, crock (obs) carafe	k=j. Cf. cruet.
Kali	√kil, kīl—to amuse	(?) tickle	Icel. kitla; k=t.
Kale:	√kīl—to play	child, girl	A. S. cild; k=e=ch=g.
Kā	√chad—to pro- tect	?guard	ch=h=g.
Ku, kucā:, kusa	(?) √kit—to cure	cure	t=c=s; k=c.
Kut	√kuṭ—to cut	cut, as with the nails	
Kut	√kuṭ—to bend	cope, as in starry cope of heaven.	Cf. Burmese Miu: kut for horizon.
Kut-to try	√kuc or √gubb —to apply	cope	As in krō: kut—to en- deavour.
Kutañ	Kuṭi—a house	cot, cottage	L. L. cottum; u=o.
Kun:	√gaṇ or √kul—to count	count, compute, reckon	g=k=c. As in kun: khyō.
Kū	gūhā	cave	k=e=k; u=av.
Kū	Onomatopoeic	coo	
Kū:	?√khur—to cut	cross	k or kh=e; u=o; r=s.
Kū:	√kuc—to write	?copy	k=c.
Kè-to excel	√khi—to rule	?capital,	L. caput-head; i=e; k=e
Kè	ce—if	gif, if	c=k=g. Cf. Gr. kai and L. que.
Kôjo	kojava—carpet	?carpet	ava=o; k=c; j=r; v=p
Kok	√kuṭ—to bend	crooked	Cf. cog-to deceive; t=k=g.
Kok	√kul—to collect or √kus—to cut	crop	l=r; s=k.
Ko-to bend	√kuṭ—to bend	curl	
Kô-gum	√kul—to join	glue	k=g.
Koñ:—good	sundra, √sund—to be comely	comely, sound	s=k=c.
Kiuk-to bite	√kuṭ—to cut	cut	t=k.
Kiuy-body	Ku+āya rotten body	corpse	y=r.
Kiu-body	Ko—body	corps	F. cors. L. corpus.
Kiu-kyap- tight jacket		?corset	A modern word?

Burmese.	Pali:	English	Remarks.
Kyak, khyak	√kath—to cook	cook	
Kyakcā:	gocara	graze	
Kyañ, kyin:	kiṇoti—to op- press	grin, groan, grain (obs.)	ki=ky; ky=gr. As in nā-kyañ. See krañ, krin:
Kyañ:	√khañ—to dig	?trench	k=t; y=r.
Kyaññ (pron. kyī)	√ke—to pro- duce sound	shrill, chirp, chir- rup, screech, scream, scream, squeak	As in Kyaññ-loñ.
Kyaññ; kraññ:	√gar—to op- press	grieve	gr=ky. As in nā-kyaññ:
Kyī, kye	√kil—to dis- charge	quit, quits	k=q; l=r=y.
Kyīcay, kyīcā:	?√kudd—to play, A. S. Teezan; G. Kitzeln; OHG. chizzit- on; Dan. kildre	tease, kittle, jeer, jest	k=t; d=z=s=c.
Kyī:	√ke—to caw	[a]crow	
Kyūñ	√kūñ—to shrink	shrunk	cf. Rhuñ; See khyūñ and kruñ
Kyū:, krū:	?√khur—to cut	[trans]grees, [en]croach	ky=gr=cr.
Kyepvan, kyeprvan, krepvan, kreprvan	√ki—to know & pūraṇaṇ, √pur —to fill	skilful	Dan. skiel-reason
Kye: zu:	(upa) kāra-ko— service, kata- ññu—know- ledge of service rendered	?gratitude	Mr. Taw Sein Ko de- rives the Bur. word from the correspond- ing Chinese word kei- chu.
Kyok	√kuc—to step back	kick.	See kan.
Kyô-to step over	√khur—to cut	encroach	A variant of Kyū:
Kyiuk-to tuck up	Kaccha—tuck ing up, from √kac—to bind √kit or √kil to bind or tuck up	kilt, kelt	l=r=y;

Burmese	Pali	English.	Remarks.
Krak	√kir—to scatter	?stretch, as leather across a drum.	k=t.
Krak-khre	?√khur—to cut	(a)cross, crux	K=c.
Krak	kukkuṭa—a cock	cock	
Kraññ (pron. krī)	√kil—to be clear	clear	k=c
Kraññ (krī)	√kīl—to play	glee, cheer	k=g; l=r.
Kraññ: (pron. krī)	√ci—to collect	carry	As in choñ-kraññ: often mis-pronounced choñ-kyañ:
Kraññ (krī)-to believe	√kil—to be clear	creed	k=c; l=r. As in Yuh-kraññ.
Kraññ (krī)	√kir—to avoid	clear, as in to keep clear	l=r; k=c. As in Rhoñ-kraññ often mispronounced rhoñ-kyañ?
Kyap, krap-to superintend	?√kapp—to direct or √khi—to rule	(to)captain	L. Caput; F. chef.
Kray	√kil—to be clear	clear	As in cañ-kray. A var. of kraññ.
Kray	Tārā—star	star	t=k.
Krit-to grind	?√khip—to powder	crush	D. crista; Dan. cryste OE. queisan and AS. cvesan?
Krim-to meet	√kitt—to greet	greet	?Sans. kritt; k=g. As in krim-kriuk.
Krin: to smart	See Kyañ	grin	
Krim, khrim:	√kiṭ or khiṭ—to threaten	?threaten	k=t=th.
Krim	?Sināti—to bind	(a)cane	s=c=k.
Krī:	√ci—to collect	(in)crease	L. crescere-to grow; c=k.
Krī:	√khi—to rule	chief	F. chef
Krī:	√kir—to extend	great, greet (obs.)	OE. gret; k=g.
Krut	kurūra—cruel	cruel	k=c. As in kram: krut.
Krut	√karaḍ—to divide	case, cask, chest	k=c; r=s. OE. cist; L. cista.

Burmese	Pali	English.	Remarks.
Kruñ	√kūñ—to shrink	shrunk, cramp, crumple	See Khyuñ
Krè	√kir—to spread	?scatter	k=c.
Kro	√cud—to inquire	inquire, query	c=k=p. As in co-kro.
Kro	Kāro—a cage	?trap, cage	k=t; k=c; r=g.
Krök Khrok }	√kalav—to fear	scare	k=c; l=r.
(A) kroñ:	Kāraṇam	(a) cause, a case	r=s; k=c.
Krô	√kur—to make noise	cry, crow, creak, croak.	k=c. Var. kyve: as in kyve: krô.
Kruik-to meet	√kitt—to greet	greet	k=g. As in krim-kriuk.
Kruik	√gīr or √gil—to swallow	gulp	g=k; r=l.
Kriuñ	grandha—smell	fragrant	g=k. As in kruñ-sañ: =fragrant scent.
Kriu:- a rope	galo—a rope or √kul—to bind	cord, chord	k=k or c; l=r.
Kriu: krā	?koñcā	?(a) crane	k=c.
Krve:	?galo—debt	?credit	k=c.
Kvañ:	?Chamā—earth or ku—land	camp, campagna	L. campus—a plain; k=c.
Kve, kve:	√kuc or √kuṭ—to bend	curve	u=av; k=c.
Krve:	√kur—to make noise	cry, crow creak, croak	k=c. See krô above.
Khañ	√kañkh—to desire, or √kan—to be pleased, or √jan—to beget	kind, kind	Cf. Bur. Khañ—pvan: a friend, mate j=k.
Skhañ	√kamp—to be able	king	Pers. Khan.
Khari:	Cārikā—travel	?trip, travel, journey	c=k=t; c=k=j.
Khut	√kuṭ—to cut	cut	k=kh=c.
Khun	√khund—to jump	jump	OD. and G. gumpen; k=j=g.
Khū:	√kul—to collect	cull	k=c.
Khè-to, eat	√khe, kheḍ, khād—to eat	cud, quid	k=c=q.

Burmese	Pali	English	Remarks.
Khè Khè-siu	ce—if	gif, if if so	c=kh=g. See kè. Bur- mese is rendered by 'as,' 'as if,' 'as though.'
Khoñ Khoñ : loñ :— a bell	?Gaṇṭā—a gong	?crown ?gong	k=c.
Khô	√kus—to call	call	k=c.
Khiuk- chaññ : (pron. khaik- sī :)	√khusi—to abuse	curse	k=c. Burmese is ar- chaic, meaning to pick a quarrel.
Khyac, Kriuk, to love		?cherish	k=c.
Khyap,	Syati—to be thin.	sheet	sy=sh=rh=khy. Cf. rhap.
Khyam : to be cold	√khel or √cel—to shiver	chill	AS. celan—to be cold k=c; l=m.
Khyī	√khip—to throw up	heave	Cf. L. caput=head; Gr. kardia=heart.
Khyup, lhyiu (pron. shō).	√siv—to sew	sew	
Khyum,	√gumb—to cluster	jungle	g=j=khy. Cf. archaic cum.
Khyum	√gumb—to make a whole	sum, ?jumble	g=s=khy.
Khyum-to wrap, Coñ- a wrapper	√gund—to wrap up	gown	g=khy=c. Provincial Eng. göwnd.
Khyum	√kūñ—to shrink	shrunk	G. schrumffen; Dan. and Sw. scrumpen; khy= schr=shr. Cf. rhum.
Khyup	?√gup—to secure	curb	g=khy=c.
Khyo	?√ku—to utter pitiful sound	coax	k=khy=c.
Khyok		?chasm	khy=ch.
Khyoñ : a stream	√sand—to flow	channel, sound	As. sund; s=khy=ch.
Khriu (khrō)	Karaṅga—head or horn	horn, corn	Gr. keras; k=c.

Burmese.	Pali.	English.	Remarks.
Khra	√khar—to be damaged	crack	
Khrac	?√khur—to cut	scratch, scrape, scrub	Dan. krassen
Khrac	√khur—to write	sketch, scribe, scribble	L. grapho. But re: khrac appears to be from √likh—to write.
Khrut	√khur—to cut	scratch.	See khrac—to scratch, above.
Khrok	cha	Six	Cambrian chwech.
Khva	√khor—to be bandy-legged	?fork	
Khvak—a cup	Kūpa—a pot	cup, cop, cob, cope	k=c. Is cup connected with sans, kappāla-skull?
Khvap	√kut—to cut	chop, chap	k=c. Arakanese.
Khvā	Khura—hoof, from √khur—to cut	hoof	Cf. L. cord, Gr. kardia=heart; corn=horn; Pali laṅghu=lahu.
Khve-lip	√kut—curve √lip—to be entangled	coil	k=c.
Khve: a dog	kukur—a dog	cur	k=c.
Khyve:	Sansc. √svid—to exude	sweat	s=khy.
Khyiu (pron. Khyō)	Sans. √svad—to be sweet	sweet	s=khy.
Giuk	Gada—a rod	yard	AS. geard, gyrd; D. gurd; G. gerte; Goth. gards g=y; d=r; also d=k. c=g. OF. gingimbre. m=n=ñ=n.
Gyañ: cin:	?	Ginger	
Nri, to be entangled, ñi—to be ignited	√mil—to be entangled	(ig)nite	
Nrā:, } Mrā: }	√mid—to love or √mil—to be entangled	marry	d or l=r.
Nut—a peg.	Khāṇu—a stump	knob, knop	Dan. knoop
Niuk—to drowse	niddā—sleep	nap	d=k.

Burmese	Pali	English.	Remarks.
Nhā : yam :		?hire	AS. hyrian; OE. hiren.
Nrī : nve,	ni√vid—to be	ennui	
Ñi : nve	disgusted		
Cañ	√sam—to experi- ment	sample	s=c.
Cak	Cakka—a wheel	Circle, ?truck, truckle	c=tr.
Cak	√kī—to barter	?[to]truck	K=c=tr.
Cak	√cakh—to op- press	sack	c=s. As in nhip-cak.
Cak-a drop.		jet	e=j; k=t
Cak	√sī—to sleep	?sleep	s=c.
Cak-to weigh	?√car—to in- vestgate	scale	Icel. skal—a balance; c=k; r=l.
Cakā : a word	√cakh—to speak √sakh—to speak	Saga	c=s; k=g.
Cak-chup	jigucchati	disgust	j=c; g=ch.
Cakhī (arch.)- a writer		?scribe	
Cañ	a√cam—to wash	?clean	
Cac-to strain	√sīk—to pour	sift	s=c.
Cac	√car—to decide	?judge	F. juger; OF. jugier; c=j; r=d or g.
Caññ : kam :		?system	c=s; k=t.
Caññ : cim (pron. cī : zim)- wealth, prosperity	√ci—to accumu- late or seize	seizin, seisin	F. saisins c—s—z
Campā (now Capā :) paddy	√camb—to eat	corn	G. kern; c=k.
Cam : to test	√sam—to exam- ine	scan	s=c.
Carac- gravel	Onomatopetic	grit	c=g.
Ci	√ci—to accumu- late	save, ?thrift	c=s=thr.
Cicac	√car—to exa- mine, reduplic- ated	?criticise	r=s.

Burmese.	Pali.	English.	Remarks.
Cī	} √cī—to increase	thrive	c=thr.
Caññ			
Cīrārī	√cī—to arrange	series	c=s.
Cīkyak, cikyvak	√ke + √ke—to make noise continuously	screech, screek squeak	k=c=q
Cīñam	√ke + √mañ— do	scream	
Cīloñ	√ke + ?	shrill	
Cī:	√cī or √si—to bind	siege	c=s.
Cu	√cūl or √cuṭ—to collect or (?) √gūp—to be mixed up	group	c=g.
Cup, cut	√cūb—to suck	suck, (ab)sorb	c=s.
Cum- complete	√gumb—to up	sum	See a kum.
Cè	√cī or √che—to cut	cease	As in prat-cè.
Coñ:, cvan		?squint	D. schuin-oblique; c=s.
Ciu (pron. cō), cvat- to be wet	√suc—to be wet	soak	s=c; c=k=t.
Ciu (pron. cō)	?Sūci—a needle, bolt	?shot, as in bar- shot	s=c.
Ciuk (pron. caik)	√cup—to sow	sow	c=s.
Ciu (pron. cō)	√cūb—to suck	suck, suckle	c=s.
Ciu: (pron. cō:) to rule	√su—to rule	sway	s=c.
Ciu: caññ: (pron. cō: ci:) a little	√cutṭ—to be lit- tle, ?koci—any	?quota	k=c=q.
Cvak-a plot	? √cutṭ—to be small	sward	D. zwaard; c=s=z
Cvattā	√cutt—to be little	jot, iota, ?dot	Hind. chota; c=j=i= (?)d.
Cvan-to risk	√juṅ—to risk	chance	j=c=ch.

Burmese	Pali.	English.	Remarks.
Cvan: thañ:	$\sqrt{\text{son}} + \sqrt{\text{son}}$ — to be reddened as with blood	stain	s=c; s=t or th.
Cvap, cve		?(ac)cuse	
Cvā		so	OE. swa; S. swā; Icel. svā, svō, svo; D. zoo.
Chak-to connect	$\sqrt{\text{sap}}$ —to connect	sib	s=ch; p=b=(?)k
Chañ-to seem	$\sqrt{\text{sam}}$ —to seem	seem	s=ch.
Chañ :-to descend	}	? descend	s=ch=c.
Cun-to come down the river			
Chac-to cut	$\sqrt{\text{chid}}$ —to cut	chip	
Chac-to cheapen	? ditto. or $\sqrt{\text{kī}}$ — to buy	Chaffer, cheap, chop, chip as in Chipstead	k=th.
Chaññ: (pron. chī:)	$\sqrt{\text{ci}}$ —to collect	seize, seise	c=ch=s.
Chaññ :-to serve	? $\sqrt{\text{sev}}$ —to serve	serve	ch=s.
Chat		stag	ch=s=t.
Chan	$\sqrt{\text{sal}}$ —to be quick	soon, (ac)centuate	Goth. suns; c=ch=s. As in mean-chan.
Chan-rice	$\sqrt{\text{camb}}$ —to eat	corn, grain	c=ch; c=g.
Chanvañ:		saffron	ch=s. Cf. cīrañ+pavāsim=cīrappavāsim.
Chan :-to wax as the moon	$\sqrt{\text{cand}}$ —to shine	shine	c=ch=s.
Chap-pyā		soap	AS. sape; Hind. saboon.
Chay		ten	G. Zehen; archaic kip, kyp.
Chay	$\sqrt{\text{ci}}$ —to collect	salve	c=ch=s.
Chay	ditto.	save	c=ch=s.
Charā	ācera—teacher	? Sir, sire, senior	
Chā:	? jalarasa—salt, sara—salt	salt, sauce	L. sal; j=ch=c; s=ch; r=l.
Chit-tit		still	

Burmese	Pali.	English	Remarks.
Chit-ñam Chaññ: kyam	{ √chid + √mañ —to have noise cut off	silent	L. sileo; ch=s. Cf. chit-ñim.
Chit-kvay			
Chip-a seal	√chid—to cut off + ?	seclude, still- quiet	ch=s. Cf. coy.
Chī: or se:- urine	Cihana—a seal	seal, sign	L. signum; c=ch=s; h=g. As in tam-chip.
Chī: nhañ:, or nhañ:	√sīk—to pour	(Prov. E.) sig	s=ch.
Chup-phrat	? Nhānañ— bathing	snow	L. ningo. European phil- ologists connect 'snow' with sineh—to be sticky
Chumma- to admonish	√chut—to cut + √phal—to cut	?separate, sever	ch=s.
Chū-to be in ebulli- tion	?√dam—to tame	tame	d=t=ch.
Che: nhe: Che: le:	√cūr—to burn	seethe	AS. seothan; c=ch=s.
Chè re:	√sineh—to be sticky	slow	n=l.
	√lab—to lag	lag, late, delay, slow	D. slee. See le:
	?√khusi—to swear or abuse +√re—to utter	swear, rail	ch=s.
Cho or so	√ju—to be quick	quick, swift	j=ch=s.
Chok	√chuṭ—to cut	?chisel	
Chon khron		squat, crouch	
Chô	√su—to join	sort, solder	L. sero—to join; s=ch.
Chiu (pron. chō)	√civ—to say	say, saw, ? quoth	AS. scwaeth; c=ch=s.
Chiu	?sūci—a needle or bolt	shut, stop, choke close	ch=s.
Chvat	√suc—to wet	soak	ch=s.
Jve:	{ √ju—to be impetuous	zeal	j=s.
Jvat			
Jvan:		spoon	j=s; v=b=p. Icel. spánu; Sw. spän; D. and Dan. span; G. span.
Jhān	Jhāna	?trance	jh=tr.

Burmese	Pali.	English	Remarks.
Ña, naññ (pron. ñi)	nisā—end of day	night	n=ñ.
Ñac	√makh—to smear	smear, smirch, smutch	m=ñ.
Ñac		nasty	n=ñ.
Ñam	√mand—to be inferior	mean	m=ñ.
Ñi, ñhi	√mil—to be entangled	(ig)nite	m=ñ.
Ñit	√nat—to bend body	nod, nudge	n=ñ.
Ñī-a brother	√nij—to be born	nephew, neice	Ice. nefi. a brother; Gr. anepsios—a first cousin.
Ñī:	√nij—to be born	nee	
Ñī-to be level	√mī—to compare	mete	
Tañ:; toñ:	√tūñ—to be full	tun, ton	
Tañ:; Toñ	ditto	tense	
Tac, ti-to cut	√ti—to cut	tear	
Taci } Tachip }	√tacch—to reduce	?tittle	
Taññ (pron. ti) to establish	√tal—to stay	stay, steady	l=r=y=ññ.
Tat	√satt—to be able	tact	s=t.
Tan	√tanu—to lesson	(at)tenuate, tiny	s=ch.
Tanchā-instrument	√tāns—to adorn	utensil	
Tan-to stop	√tal—to stand, ?thā—to stand	stand	l=n.
Tan:	√tant—to extend	(ex)tend	t=d.
Tapak-a scarf	√sabbi—to adorn	tippet	s=t; b=p.
Tap	√taki—to bind	tack, (at)tach	OE. tak.
Tam:	√tam—to desire	(to)tend (to)	

Burmese	Pali.	English	Remarks.
Tamari-an enbank- ment	√ <u>dam</u> —to train	dam	d=t.
Tam:, tvan	√ <u>sun</u> —to pro- duce sound	dun, din, tune, tone	s=t=d. Cf. twang.
Tā:	√ <u>tas</u> —to retard	retard, deter	s=r.
Tañ:-tim	√ <u>dhimb</u> —to be contented	(con)tent	dh=t.
Tut	√ <u>tud</u> —to peirce	?(s)tick	
Tut, tiu, tiuk	√ <u>tiv</u> —to be stout	?(s)tout	Tiu (<i>pron.</i> tō) means short.
Tun	dhunāti—to tremble	?tremble, tremor	dh=t.
Tup	√ <u>sutt</u> —to tie	?tie	s=t.
Tup	√ <u>tuvatt</u> —to lie	?(s)toop	
Turn-to turn	√ <u>tūn</u> —to curl	turn	
Tū:	√ <u>tud</u> —to break	?dig	t=d.
(sa) tè, (sa) tat	iti—that	that (conj.)	t=th.
Tè-a hut	√ <u>tal</u> —to stay	?tent	l=y=e; l=n.
Tè (arch), thi, tve, } tiu	thiyati, from √ <u>the</u> —to touch	touch, tact, (con)tact	th=t. Cf. tvè, tvay-to be connected.
Toktè	onomatopoetic	tucktoo	
Toñ-a mountain	tuñga—a hill	down, dun	t=d.
Toñ, tok	√ <u>tūn</u> —to fill	?tube	
Tô, tô lyô- suitable	tulya—alike	?suit	AS. till—suitable; t=s.
Tiuk-to attack	√ <u>tigh</u> —to kill or √ <u>tik</u> —to oppress	strike (at)tack	
Tiuk-riuk	?dhura—front	direct	d=t.
Tiuk-tvan: to insti- gate or seduce			?L. ductum. d=t.
Tiuñ, Tiuñ- on	ati+antarā, to endmost,	till, until	n=l.
Tvak, tvap	√ <u>tup</u> —to strike	tap, dab, dub	t=d.
Tvañ:- a pit	?talla—a pit	tunnel	
Tvè		tow	

Burmese	Pali.	English	Remarks.
Thak- to be sharp	√tij—to sharpen	tart	t=th; j=r.
Than	√sam—to seem or think	seem, think, deem, teem	OL. tongere—to know; s=t=th. Cf. chañ—to seem.
Than-to be violent	√thamb—to be hard	?(s)trong, (s)trength	
Than; thiun:	√thim—to be moist	damp, drench, taint	L. tingo—to moisten; th=t=d.
Thap	?√sadd—to dry up	thick	G. dick; s=th=d.
Thip	?√thūp—to raise	tip	th=t.
Thun	√thūl—to be thick	dense, dunce	th=d; l=m=n.
Thun:-a pond	talla—a tank	tank, dank	t=th; l=n; t=d;
Thū, thô, Thon	√thūp—to raise	thole, tall, tower	L. tollo—to raise; th=t.
Thū	√thūl—to be thick	dull	th=d.
Thiu (that)	'so'—he	tho(obs.) the, that, those	s=th.
Thiu:	√tuḍ—to pierce	thrust	L. trudo; t=th=tr=thr.
Thiu:	√tuḍ—to strike	toll, as a bell	t=th.
Thvak-to issue	.	dart	d=th.
Thvat } Thvat }	√thūp—to raise	top	t=th.
Thvan-to till Thay-a harrow }	√thūl—to grow	?till	t=th; l=n.
Thvan: to shine	√tuñj—to shine	twinkle	ñ=n.
Darvap	?√dhar—to conduct	draw, drag	
Daray	?darī—a dale	deer	Dan. dyr; Ice. dyr. Cf. Bur. variants khyī or gyī—a deer.
Dā: a knife Dī	√dā—to cut	dirk, dag, dagger	d=t.
Dhat	√Dhātu—element	?diet	dh=d.

Burmese.	Pali	English	Remarks.
Nagiur	√ <u>ni</u> j—to be born	nature, innate	L. nascor, nasci; j=g= c=t.
Nap	√ <u>ñā</u> —to know	knack	ñ=n.
Nāmaññ	√ <u>nam</u>	name	
Nay	√ <u>madd</u> —to knead	knead	m=n; d=r=y.
Nī:	pref. ni, √ <u>nid</u> — to be near	near, nigh, neigh-- bour	See anā:
Nu	√ <u>mud</u> —to be soft, as pow- der	?(s)mooth	m=n.
Nok-back, behind	?anu—after	nape, nucha	
Nok	ditto	next	
Nok		naughty	
Nok-khye:	√ <u>muj</u> —to be cleaned	muck	Dan. mog; Scand. and Icel. miki; j=g=h.
Niu	?√ <u>mūl</u> —to grow	milk	AS. meole; L. nulgeo; m=n.
Nhak-to strike	√ <u>nak</u> k—to destroy	knock, knap, knach, snap	
Nhañ	√ <u>nandh</u> —to connect	?and	
Nhañ-to drive moñ:-to drive	√ <u>mun</u> th—to run away		L. mino—to drive cattle; m=n.
Nhap	Nāsa—nose	mucus	n=m.
Nhā	ditto	nose	
Nhip	ni-low	nick, as in nick- name	
Nhip-phi	ni √ <u>pi</u> l—to press down.	nip	
Nhut	mukkha—mouth	mouth	m=n.
Nhoñ, Mhoñ	√ <u>man</u> th-to annoy	?annoy	m=n.
Pak, pac	√ <u>path</u> —to pelt	pelt	
Pak, pi, phi, prap, prā:	√ <u>pi</u> l—to press	press, flat	l=r.
Pañ		even	OS. and OHG. eban; p=b=v.
Pañ-pan: to be in dis- tress	√ <u>piñ</u> j—to op- press	pain, pang	OE. peine; L. paena— torment; j=g.

Burmese.	Pali	English	Remarks.
Pat-to wind	√pat—to wind	belt	p=b.
Pat	?patta—oppor- tune	pat, fit	Eg. Pattakāla—suitable time; p=f.
Pan		pomp	As in han-pan.
Pan:	√piñj—to op- press	pant	F. peiner—to fatigue; j=t.
Pan:	√bandh—to bind	band	p=b.
Pan: a riddle	√pañd—to joke	pun	n=n.
Pay-to reject	√pil—to reject	(ex)pell	l=r=y.
Pali-to play tricks		play	AS. plega—a game.
Pādarak	Pāda—leg, √lat —to destroy	?paralysis	d=r; l=r.
Pin-thin	Pillati—to be thin from √pil—to dis- card or waste	pine	l=n.
Pin-lin Pinlhī	} from same and lin and lhī which <i>see</i> .	pine, lean; pine, little	
Pitun :- humble bee		beetle	AS. bītel, from bītan— to bite.
Pin:-to be unadorned		plain, plane	r=l.
Prin:-to be unembel- lished			
Pujvan		prawn	r=j.
Piu	} √pus—to fill	poke, pocket, pouch	s=t=k.
Put		pat	
Put	√puth—to strike		
Puti:	√bhūs—to adorn	bead	OE. bede; G. bitte; Chi- nese puti; b=p; s=t =d.
Puthiu: (pro. pu- thō:)	thūpo—a tope	tope	?A transposition in Bur. and Chinese putho.
Pup	pūti	putrid	t=p.
Pum		?form	p=f.
Pulañ:		?phial, vial	F. fole. p=f; l=n.
Pulè		pearl	LL. parla.

Burmese.	Pali	English	Remarks.
Pun	} $\sqrt{\text{pun}}$ —to heep	} plump	
Phvañ			
	$\sqrt{\text{phund}}$ —to bloom		
Pū	$\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$ —to increase	bulge	
Pe: to give	$\sqrt{\text{pis}}$ —to give	pay	Cf. old sing. pease, pese where j=s; b=p.
Pè	bīja—a seed	pea, bean	
Pè	$\sqrt{\text{bhīd}}$ —to break	piece, bit	bh=b=p.
Polo	$\sqrt{\text{plu}}$ —to float	float	p=f.
Pō	$\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$ —to appear	?peer	bh=p.
Pok, phok	$\sqrt{\text{buj}}$ —to pierce	poke, pore, bore	L. foro, b=p; j=k=r.
Pok-to sting	$\sqrt{\text{puth}}$ —to strike	pop	
Pok-to break out	? $\sqrt{\text{pūy}}$ —to break out	pox, pocks	
Poñ	} $\sqrt{\text{pañ}}$ —to barter, ?bandho—property pledged	pawn	OF. pan.
Poñ: (to bake)			
Poñ: (to bake)	?pusnāti—to burn	burn	p=b; z=r.
Piu (pron. pō) to conduct	} $\sqrt{\text{pu}}$ —to reach	port, porter	
Piu: (pron. pō: to carry)			
Piu:		pole	
Pyak-cī: to be destroyed	} $\sqrt{\text{byay}}$ —to be exhausted $\sqrt{\text{phal}}$ —to destroy+ $\sqrt{\text{khi}}$ —to be exhausted	} ?perish	F. perir; b=p.
Phyak-chī: to destroy			
Pyā:		Bee	Akin to Icel. Bīj, Sw and Dan. bī.
Pyāñ: to be lazy	$\sqrt{\text{piñ}}$ —to be contented.	?(su)pine	
Pyāñ		?prepare, repair	?L. paro—to make; y=r.
Pyāñ	phalaka—a plank	plank	y=l.

Burmese	Pali	English.	Remarks.
Pyarñ	√plāy—to run	fly	OE. flien, fleen, fleyen; p=f; y=l.
Pyāyi- pyāyā	?√phar or √phal—to be agitated	flurry, fuss	Prov. E. flur—to ruffle; r=y=l.
Pyoñ:	√pun—to be soft	plaint	y=l.
Pyiu (pron- pyō)- young	poto—a child	puerile	
Pyô	poto—a child, from √pu—to go	sport, frolio, play	G. froh; p=f; y=r=l.
Pyiu		;epic	* Gr. epos.
Pra	√bal—to show	(s)play, (dis) play	b=p; l=r.
Prak	√phar—to be bright	* bright, flash, flare, flame, blaze	ph=p=b=f; r=l.
Prañ		(a) plain	r=l.
Prañ- outside	Sansc. pra	from	See phrañ.
Praññ pro. prī)	pūya—pus	pus	y=r=s.
Praññ	pāreti—to fill	fill, (re)plete, (com)plete	L. pleo; p=f; r=l.
Praññ- phriu: (pron. pri- phrō:)	pāreti and √pur —to fill	fill, full; profuse	l=r=s.
Prat—to be cut	√pal—to cut	pare	l=r.
Prī: to be comple- ted	pāreti—to finish	complete, ac- complish	r=l. Cf. akum prī: cī: with accomplish.
Pru-cu-to attend, look after	?√pus—to bring forth	?produce	s=r.
Pru-to do	√par—to exert (as in byāpāro- industry)	ply, prepare, repair	L. paro—to make ready; W. praith—a deed; r=l.

Burmese.	Pali	English.	Remarks.
Prut	√plus—to burn	boil, broil, parch	p=b; l=r.
Prū, prūca, purac, phū:	√phuṭ—to bud	bud, sprout	ph=p=b.
Prū:, phū:	√phull—to flower	blow, flower	ph=f=b.
Pvañ	ditto		
Pvañ-lan:	phullana—flower- ing	} bloom, blossom	ph=p=b; l=n.
Prū: tū:	pūre—before and √tud—to thrust		
Pre: to run	√plāy—to run away	flee, flit	Dan. flye; p=f; l=r.
Prè	√bhid—to break	break, breach	bh=b=p.
Pro Prvak	} √brū—to speak	speak, prate, preach ?(ex) press, effable	G. sprechen; b=p=f. Prvak becomes mrvak.
Proñ—to joke		prank	
Pro	?pelava—soft		
	?√phal—to break	frail	por ph=f.
Priun (pron. prain)	pari √mā—to compare	par, (com)pare, (com)peer, (non)pareil; ?parallel	n=m=l.
Pvè-entertainment	√phuṭi—to play	fete	p=ph=f.
Pvè—to be past season	√puṭṭ—to be few	few	p=f.
Prvañ (arch) to devise	√pañj—to know	plan	r=l.
Prve, palve-a flute	?√par—to fill up	flute, blow, in- flate	D. fluit; L. flare—to blow; b=p=f; r=l.
	√phuṭ—to swell		
Phak-leaf	patta—a leaf, Sans. patra	foil	p=ph=f; r=l.
Phak-to embrace	?paggaha— catching	?hug	
Phan-glass	phalika—glass	pane	ph=p; l=n.

Burmese.	Pali	English.	Remarks.
Phay-to reject Pay-to remove Phaṁ	√ <u>pāl</u> —to clear	parry	L. paro—to keep off; l=y=r.
Phyaṁ		fin, ?wing	ph=f. A wing is called a toṇ phaṁ.
Phyaṁ		Phalanx, flank	y=l. Fore-arm is call- ed Lak-phyāṁ.
Phalap, phā: lā; phā: yā; phā: lyā:	√ <u>phar</u> —to spread	Flap, flabby	ph=f; p=b.
Phalā:	Sans. Patra—a bowl.	Bowl	A. S. bolla; p=ph=b; r=l.
Phalay-to exchange	?badhako	?barter	OF. baretar—to ex- change; ph=b; r=l.
Phā-to mend Phāthe: to patch	{ √ <u>badh</u> —to bind, √ <u>bhar</u> —to make up }	patch	p=ph=b=bh.
Phit			
Phī:—to be fleshy	√ <u>pil</u> —to reject	spill	p=ph.
Phut	√ <u>bhū</u> —to in- crease	big	
Phut	bhūta—element	puck, bogie, bogy bogy	bh=b=p=ph.
Phut	bhūta—trees, shrubs etc.	bush, wood	bh=b=ph; bh=v=w. OE. wude; AS. wudu.
Phū:	√ <u>pur</u> —to go before	fore	p=ph=f. Forehead= Nhāphū:; fore-shore= Kam: nā: phū:
Phè	√ <u>pakk</u> —to go aside	?part, depart	p=ph.
Pho, pho	√ <u>phuṭ</u> —to swell	?bloated, ?in- flated	
Phok	√ <u>buj</u> —to bore	perforate	L. foro; b=ph=f; j=r.
Phiu (pron. phō)	√ <u>phur</u> —to puff	fire, puff	ph=f. Fire-place is phiu; live-coal is mī: phvā:; but phvā means to puff or blow.
Phvā, phvā.			
Phyak-to spoil	√ <u>phat</u> —to des- troy	foil, spoil	p=ph=f; l=r=y.
Phyā:	√ <u>phar</u> —to trem- ble	?fever	Cf. Phin, from √ <u>phand</u> —to tremble,=to be feverish.

Burmese.	Pali	English	Remarks.
Phyā:-to entice	√byāj—to deceive	bait	b=ph.
Phyo		pale	p=ph; l=r=y.
Phrañ	Sansc. pra	from	
Phrac—to exist as a fact	√phal—to take effect or to fruit	(ef)fect, (af)fect	l=r; ph=f.
Phraññī (pron. phri)	Pāreti—to fill	fill	p=ph=f.
Phran	pharaṇa—spreading, from √phar—to spread	spread	ph=p.
Phran:	ditto	sprinkle	LG. spreen.
Phrā	√phar—to spread	spray	ph=p.
Phrū-white	√pu—to be pure	pure, puce, white	Cf. phve:
Phrī, Phre, to untie, loosen	Phāleti—to cut	free	ph=f.
Phroñ-straight	Pharana from √phar—to be clear	frank	ph=f.
Phvak—to conceal	?√bhuj—to be crooked.	filch, filk	ME. felen; Prov: E. feal—to hide slyly; bh=ph=f.
Phvañ—to open	?√phul—to show or √vaṇ—to open or √phuṇ—to blossom	?open	ph=p; ?v=b=p.
Phvā:	√phut—to expand	?(pro)fuse	ph=f.
Phve:	puyati from √pu—to be white	white	p = ph = h = wh. See phrū.
Phvè	√bhū—to pity continuously	poor	OHG. fo; l=p=ph=f. Becomes mvè.
Ban:-cant	√bañ—to speak	pun	b=p.
Ban: a circular tray	√bhañj—to cook, parch	pan	bh=b=p. Also written man: in Burmese.

Burmese.	Pali	English.	Remarks.
Balā	?√pal—to clear	blank	p=b.
Bit	?√bil—to sup- port or ?√bis—to throw down	base	
Biuk	?bilam—cavity	belly	Celtic bag; k=g.
Biul-a leader	bala—strength	?bold	
Buddha-: hū:	budhavāra, from bhūta—wood	?Wednesday	Was Bhūta, the god of the woods, of the pre- Aryans worshipped as Woden or Odin?
Bhañ:	aphena	opium	Pers. bang. See bhin:
Bhay	kā-what	why, where, how	Goth. ibai; b=bh=vh= wh.
Bhā	do	what	Goth. iba.
Bhit	√bhikkh—to ask	bid, (in) vite	bh=b=v.
Bhin:	aphena	opium	ph=p=bh.
Bhī:, Bhin:	?√pil or √vaṭṭ—to revolve	wheel	p = bh = vh = wh. Cf. Bur. vhe-to turn with L. verto.
Bhurañ-a king	√bhū—to govern	govern, sovereign	bh=v; g=s.
Bhe	pihaka—spleen	spleen	p=bh. See aphyañ:
Bhe:	√bhi—to fear	fear	G. weh; L. vae; bh=f= v=w.
danger			
Bhe:-side	pitṭha—back	back	AS. baec; p=b=bh. Cf. Nok-bhe:
Bhiuy (arch) danger	√bhi—to fear	woe, foe	bh=f=(v)=w.
Bhoñ	?vulha—a float	? wharf	w=v=b.
Bhiu:	bhoga—wage	wage	bh=v=w.
Bhiu:	√bhū—to be	worth	
Bhvā:	√bhū—to be	bear, birth	bh=b.
Ma	na—not	not	m=n.
Mak	√makk—to work in threads	net, mesh	AS. masc, max; m=n.
Makan:	makāra	mackerel	l=n.
Manak	√mand—to shine.	morn, morne (obs.)	
Mā:-great	√mah—to be great	mighty	
Mit-a friend	√mid—to love	mate, amity	d=t.

Burmese.	Pali.	English	Remarks.
Min, mrin-to relish food		munch, manger	
Mut-chit beard	?√mund—or mudi—to shave or muk- kha—face and √chid—to cut	moustache	
Muñ, nuñ	√muñc—to re- duce to powder	minute	m=n.
Muñ-ñāñ:		mustard	L. Mustum.
Muñ-to shut-one's mouth	√mun-to keep quiet	mute, mun, mum, mund, mump	Mun(obs.) mouth.
Muñ:	√mund-to cut hair	mane	Icel. mon. Whishers:= Pā: muñ: mve:
Mū	√mūl-to cause to be	mode	l=(r)=d.
Mū	mūla-original	mould	
Mū	?√mid-to be in temper	? mood	
Melyo	√met-to forget+ √lis—less	neglect	m=n.
Miu	muddhā-top √mah-to be great	?more	
Miuk-to be dark	√mad-to be dull or √mil-to fade	murky	OE. mirke; Icel. myrkr.
Miu	muddhā-top	mound, knoll	m=n.
Myaknhā- face	nayana-eye		AE. nebb—face; m=n.
Myā:	√mah-to be large	much	
Mhya	matta-mere	mere	
Mhya-laññ:		merely	See laññ:
Mhya-to distribute or share equally	√mi-to compare	measure	
Mhyā:-to ensnare	√mil-to be en- tangled	snare	m=n. Cf. phyā: to en- tice.
Mra	marakata	emerald	
Mrat- excellent	mahatta, mahati from √mah-to be great	might, mighty	

Burmese.	Pali	English	Remarks.
Mrat-profit	√mah—to in-crease	nett	m=n.
Mran	√mañgh—to be quick	nimble	m=n.
Mrup	√mujj—to sink	(im)merse, (sub)-merge, (e)-merge	g=j=s.
Mrū-a particle	√mud—to pul- verise	mote	AS. mot; mould-crumbl- ing earth; r=d=t.
Mrū	mahikā or mihikā —snow.	mist	Icel. mugga-mist.
Mrū:	√mud—to play	muse, amuse	d=r=s.
Mrok—to be glad	moda—glad, from √mud	mirth	OE. murthe.
Mrok mrac-ok. (arch)	ni+uttara	north, norse	m=n.
Mvat	√mut—to be reduced to powder	smooth, neat, net, natty	m=n.
Mvan: tè	?mandakam— head	noontide	m=n.
Mvelyô	?√mud—to be happy	merry	OE. murie; F. mear; l=r.
Mve	modu—soft	mild, meek	d=(r)=l. Cf. Sim-mve =subtle, where sim= thin. Icel. muikr-soft.
Mhak	Makkhikā—a gad-fly, Masako	gnat, midge, mosquito	D. mug; G. muche; m=n; k=q.
Mhat	√makkh—to smear	mark	m=mh.
Mhat	√ñā—to know	note	n=n=m.
Mhā:	micchā—wrong	miss	ch=s.
Mhè	√mil—to spoil beauty	? mole	m=mh.
Mhe: rhak	√miss—to mix	mix	rh=ss=x.
Mhiu (pron. mhō)	√mu—to bind	? nail, knog	mh=m=n.
Mhiu	Mūlya—plucked out with root	mushroom, moril, morel more (obs.)	OG. mos; G. moos; AS. more—a root; mohre- carroa; OHG. mora- ha, morha. l=r; r=s.

Burmese.	Pali	English	Remarks.
Mhiu		mildew, musty, mouldy, muggy	
Yam:		lend	y=(r)=l. See Nhā: yam:
Yim:, Yiun	√lamb—to lean	lean, reel	y=r=l.
Yvay, rvay,	yuvā, yuvāna	youth, young, junior juvenile	y=j. Cf. a-yvay from āyu=age.
Yhañ	yuñjati—to join	join	L. jungere; y=j.
Yvañ:	√yu—to be blameable	wrong	y=r.
Yiu (pron. yō)		leak	y=(r)=l.
Raṇ—to be ripe	√randh—to cook, ripen, mature	rank	
Racpat	√lip—to be entangled	wrap, lap	r=l.
Ran:	√randh—to ripen	rankle	
Ran-a quarrel	raṇa—fighting or √raṇ—to oppress	rant, wrangle	
Ram:	√rambh—to act without thought	?rash	Cf. random=Pali yamvā taṇ vā=Bur. yam: tam:
Ray-to laugh	√re—to produce sound	Deride, risible	L. rideo—to laugh.
Ri	?√ric—not to apply	lazy, lax	F. las—tired; r=l.
Ruñ: rañ:	√ru—to produce sound	row, rowdy, roar	
Rip	√lū—to reap	reap	AS. rip-harvest; l=r.
Re-water	√rī—to flow	rill, rail (obs)	
Re	√re—to produce sound	rate	L. ratus.
Re:	√riph—to blame	rail	
Re:, re: khrac	√likh—to write	write, scribe	l=r. Cf. Bur. cakhī— a scribe.
Re: cā	ditto	letter	r=l.
Rè	rudhira—blood	red, ruddy	
Rok	√rak—to reach	reach	

Burmese	Pali	English	Remarks.
Riuk-to strike	√radh—or √raph—to oppress	rap, lick	r=l.
Rvak	?√ruh—to grow	leaf, lobe	D. loof; S. lof; G. laub; r=l.
Rvat	√ru—to produce sound	read, rote	
Rvat, rvap	√rukkh—to be rough	rough	
Rve:	?√jus—to be happy	choose	j=ch=r.
Rvè, to move	√ru or √cu—to move	shift, shove	r=c=s. See Rhvè.
Rha-to be cut	syati—to cut	sharp	rh=s=sh.
Rhak-to be ashamed	√hrī—to be ashamed	shy	rh=sh.
Rhac	Sans. asht	eight	
Rhim: (arch.)	√hrī—to be ashamed	shame, shameful	do.
Rhim: praññ (pron. shim: pri)			
Rhap (pron. shap)	syati—to be thin,	sheet	do. Cf. Khyap.
Rhā	√hā—to go	search	rh=s.
Rhā:	√hā—to move	shake	rh=sh.
Rhi	√hi—to be	is, has	AS. sie; rh=s.
Rha:	syati—to be less	?scarce	
Rhā: pā:	do.	?sparse	
Rhu	√lok—to look	look, see	l=r=s.
Rhum: to lose		(for)lorn, lose	r=l; r=s.
Rhoñ	√yung—to shun	shun, shunt	y=rh=sh.
Rhum	?√yant—to shrink	shrunk, rumple	y=rh=sh.
Rhiuk	√hikk—to sigh	sigh	rh=s.
Rhiu (pron. shō) or lyhiu-to conceal	raho—concealment	lurk	r=l.

Burmese.	Pali.	English.	Remarks.
Rhvañ	jambāla— swamp	swamp	r=j=s.
Rhvè	√ru—or √cu— to move	shift, shove	r=c=(s)=sh. <i>See</i> Rvè.
Lak—to glitter	√laj—to shine	light, glitter	L. lux, from luceo—to shine.
Lañ :to shine	√lañj—to shine	loom, illumine lamp, lantern lunar	L. luna, lumino.
Lañ—to be clear	ditto	limpid	
Lañ—to tarry	√lamb—to be long	long, linger, lang languid	
Lac, lap	√las—to re- create	slack, relax, lax ?lack, leisure	L. latus.
Lac	√lap—to make a slip of the tongue	slip	
Laññ Laññ :	√lay—to go	?loaf, loiter, ly, lic, like, also	} Lann : koñ :—ditto—also =like so. Cf. D. lij- ken; Goth. leikon. O. E. lill.
Laññ :	√li—to be at- tached or √lañ —to loll	lie	
Lap-a present	√labh—to get	largess	
Lam : a road	√lañg—to go	lane	
Lavo-super abundant		lavish	
Lay-a field	?√li—to be dis- solved in water	lay, ley, lea	AS. leah—a meadow.
Lin	√lañgh—to be without food, to waste with- out food *	lean, lank	AE. hlaene.
Lip	√lip—to wrap up	?roll	
Lim-to cheat	√lambh—to deceive	lie	OH. lien.
Lim :	√limp—to smear	lime	D. leem; AS. lim—to glue.
Lu	√lup—to rob	rob, loot	l=r; p=b.

Burmese	Pali	English	Remarks.
Lup-to work	√luth—to stir	labour	L. labor; p=b.
Luih:	luṇṭhanam— rolling	round	F. rond; l=r.
Luih:	do	lump	
Lū:-to roll on ground from side to side	lolo—rolling, Sans: √lud—to roll	roll	l=r.
Lū:		loam	
Lelā-to practise		lilt	
Le: to be heavy, slow	√labi—to lag	lag, late, let, slow, (de)lay	AS. laet-slow.
Lè-to ex- change		(re)lay, (re)lieve	
Lè-to fall		lie	
Lok	?√lag—to be entangled	(a)lock	
Loñ:-a canoe	?√luṇṭh—to go	(a)yawl	l=(r)=y.
Lômā-to be wanton	√lubh—to lust	lewd, ?loose	
Lôli-to be wanton	?√lal—to loll	?loll	
Lyak	√lih—to lick	lick, lap	
Lyañ, lhyañ-to be quick	√lañgh—to be light, lit, to jump or leap	light	L. levis.
Lyā:-to be long	āyāma—extent from āyatā— long	?large	y=(r)=l.
Lyo-to be less	√lis—to be lit- tle	little, less	
Lyo	?√luth—to move about	loose, lax, slack, ?lack	
Lyoñ:	√lal—to loll, or √lamb—to lean	lounge, lean, recline	
Lvañ-a plain		lawn, land, lond	
Lvan-to exceed limit		yond, yond(er), (be)yond.	l=(r)=y. Cf. ayond with alvan.

Burmese	Pali.	English	Remarks.
Lvam :-to long for	√lamb—to hanker after ?√lunt—to remember	long	
Lvè, Lhvè		?(e)lude	Lvè is to miss; Lhvè, to evade.
Lvat, lhvat	√luṭh—to move about	let, loose, (re) lease	
Lhè-to fell		lay, (to cause to to lie)	
Lhañ	√laṇḍ—to throw	lance	
Lhī	} √lis—to be little	little, less	AS. hlaedar; OFries, hladder; r=l.
Lhe:			
Lhekā:	ruḷha—ascend	ladder	
Lhè-to turn		lathe	
Lhoñ-to jest	√luṇṭ—to dis- respect	?flout, clown	
Lhō		row	
Lhyō-to wash		lave	Gr. loub; L. leure—to wash.
Lhyiu	√siv—to sew	sew	
Lhvā:	√luṭh—to move	leap	Icel. hlaupa; G. laupen.
Lhvè-to rock, as a cradle		?rock	l=r.
Va-to be fed up	√vas—to be satisfied or to surfeit	fed	v=f.
Va	√vaḍḍh—to grow	fat, wax	w=v=f.
Vak		?hog	
Vak	?aḍḍha	?halve	
Vañ-to enter	√av—to enter	(ad)vent	F. avent.
Van:-to be round	√vaṇḍ—to wrap or wind √vañc—to go round	wind	v=w. See viuh.
Vañ-to brag	Vaṇṇa—fame	vain, vaunt	

Burmese	Pali.	English.	Remarks.
Vañ: to be bright, yellow	√vaññ—to colour	wan	v=w.
Vat	√vas—to wear	wear, vest	L. vestire; v=w: s=t.
Vañ-to dare	√vuñg—to risk	venture	
Viñ: to be circular	√vañc—to go round	wind	v=w. See van:
Vam: stomach	√vabbh—to eat, √vam—to belch up	womb	D. wam; D. vam; AS. wamb; G. wamme—a pouch; v=w.
Van-a load	√vah—to carry	weight, wagon	OE. wein—to bear.
Vay		buy	v=b.
Vā:	√vabbh—to eat	(de)vour	L. vorare.
Vā:		vague	
Ve, añ-ve	√ve—to dry	vapour	
Ve, vhe, vē	√vatt—to whirl or turn, veer	whirl, whirlpool, (ad)vert, veer	L. verto.
Ve:	Pref. vi or √vis—to be distant	far	O. E. fer; D. ver; v=f.
Vhak-to hide	√vas or √vil—to cover	veil, ?hide	Cf. Phvak.
Vhan-to overflow	√vam—to belch up	?whelm	
Sak	√sad—to be satisfied	sate, satiate, satisfy	AS. saed.
Sak	√sad—to fall	set, as in sun-set	
Sakkay	taca—skin or bark	thatch	Goth. thak; D. dak; a roof; Sw. tak; Dan. tag—a house; s=t.
Saksak, by itself	saka—self+saka—self	self-self, ?sheer	
Sakse-a witness	Sans. sakshī—a witness	testify	L. testis.
Sakā, Sakrā:	sakkhara—sugar	sugar, saccharine	
Sañ-thou	tvañ—thou	thine	t=s=th.
Sañ-suitable	√sant—to be suitable	?seem	G. zeemen—suitable s=z.
Sañ: scented	√siñgh—to smell	scent	
Saññ		this	s=th.

Burmese.	Pali.	English.	Remarks.
San-to be quick	√sal—to be quick	soon, accentuate	
Saññi	verbial ending ti	s	
Saññi	Nom. case ending si		Gr. S as in oiko-s.
San-to be healthy and strong	√sal—to be quick	sound	L. sanus.
San :to cut across	savanam—flowing, floating	swim, swam, swum	
Samañ		?sambur	{ Barking deer is Sak-chi in Siyin dialect, and deer is samañ in Taungtha dialect. See chat. c=s.
Sare	cara—four + cara—four	square, draw	
Sā:	√sū—to be get	son	
Sitañ: cā	Sandesā—a report	tidings	s=t; t=d.
Se:, sim-to be small	sinoti from √si—to be thin	Thin	s=th.
Sī-to be dim of eye	√tim—to be dark, √sid—to be dull	dim	s=t=d.
Sī	?√ge—to sing	sing	D, zingen; g=s=z.
Sut		swoop	
Sut-sut	√ju—to be quick	swift, swift	j=s.
Sūtô	Sato, santo	saint	
Seraññi (pron. serī)	{ √sī—to distill or cook or, sleep	sirup, syrup, sherbet	
Serak			
Se: ñay	√si—to be small	small	AS. smael; n=m.
Se: nup	?√tanu—to be tiny	?tiny	t=s.
So	√ju—to be quick	swift	j=s.
Sok-to drink	sosa—sucking or ?√cus—to drink	sip, sup, soup	s=th.

Burmese	Pali	English.	Remarks.
Sô laññ:		though, although	
Siu		so	
Siu		to	s=t.
Siu (pron. sō) to store	√sus—to increase √tu—to fill up	?store	s=t.
Svā:tooth	√shu—to cut	chew, ?tooth	ch=s=t.
Sve-to be dry	√siv—to be dry √silis—to burn	sere, sear	
Sve:	√so—to sharpen Syati—to sharpen	sharp(en)	
Sve: choñ to seduce		?seduce	L. seductum.
Ha-to open mouth	?√has—to laugh		L. hio—to gape.
Hac, hiuk	√hikk—	hiccough, hiccup	Hac is to shout; hiuk—to gasp for breath.
Han	√hanu—to deceive	sham	
Hālā, hañ: lañ:; Hoñ: loñ:	?√hul—to be pure	hollow	
Hi	√hi—to be	has, have	
Hin	hinoti from √hi—to be hot	heat, hot	
Hi	√hes—to neigh	?neigh	
Hilākhap	√hil—to sport √hiladi—to rejoice	hilarious, hail	
Hok, to roar, to snore	√us—to produce sound	hue, hoot	OE. howten.
Hoñ-to bark	√u—to make noise	howl, ?whine	
Hoñ: to be old not in age but in quality	√ūn—to deteriorate	?old	

Dear Mr. Aung,

* * * * *

So I have asked Dr. Stede, who is thoroughly qualified to give us his views. He has done so very carefully summing up his results in a letter and giving notes on points of detail. Both are enclosed. Personally I should be sorry if you turned aside from the history of ideas to the history of words. The *ideas* seem to me more important. You have done so well for a busy man—busy on his Sovran's behests—that we may look for more help from you if you do not get lost in the thorny jungles of philology.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) T. W. RHYS DAVIDS,

Chipstead, Surrey.

Dear Professor Davids,

I have looked through the work of Mr. Shwe Zan Aung, and I am pleased to know that there is such an ardent student of great problems. We badly need these kind of men. If he will continue on these lines I am sure that we may expect something really valuable from him, something that will throw a new light on the relation of Aryan languages to other groups. But I am afraid I have to pronounce a rather sharp criticism on this paper, which I hope the writer will pardon, understand and appreciate—if he is a buddhimā he will do so *bien entendu*.

Although the writer has with great and appreciable enthusiasm undertaken to set forth a hypothesis of no small importance and to raise it to a theory by adducing examples, and although some of the latter are unequivocal in scientific value, yet I do not consider the argument *as a whole* ripe for publication. It would be much better, not to say necessary, for the writer to obtain a better insight into the *history* of the languages in question and into the (scientific) *principles* of comparative philology in general. As a mere statement of facts his examples are correct, but to use them to draw *any* conclusions as to a *comparison*, is incorrect and dangerous. If we want to analyse and compare Burmese and Pali (and English) we can do so only by comparing the *oldest* Burmese with the *oldest* Pali and the same holds good for a comparison of Pali and English, only that for the latter comparison we must go back to the Sanscrit roots. If this is not done then there is no "thalabhūmi" for any theory. The writer will do well to revise the whole list accordingly, and I know that this cannot be done in a hurry. If I had to modify this list, it would take me a few months of hard work to make something "decent" out of it. A theory like the one the writer proposes is too difficult to be dealt with lightly, and to illustrate (one cannot say 'prove') with superficial equations of phonetic phenomena which in the end have nothing in common as regards their *origin*. Although, or just because the problem touched by him, is of such paramount importance, we have to be

doubly careful and set forth only such proofs as are without a shadow of suspicion, i. e. are scientific and not guesses. I would advise the writer to study the question for another year or two (with the help of modern researches on this subject), and then draw up another list, which no doubt will prove much more satisfactory to the author *and* to all sincere lovers of linguistic-historical studies.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) W. STEDE, PH.D.,

Wyabury,

Howard, Couladon.

31-8-16.

TO PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS.

Dear Sir,

I feel much obliged to you for your favour of the 11th September last. I cannot sufficiently express my thanks for your very kind introduction of me to the notice of Dr. Stede. I greatly appreciate his kind remarks which are most encouraging. In fact I could not expect a more favourable opinion at the present stage of my enquiry and study of the thorny subject. I hope I shall profit by his wholesome criticism and advice. What pleases me most is that when the idea of relating Aryan languages to other groups is not altogether repugnant to an authority like Dr. Stede, my working hypothesis for a fuller and further comparative study will not be rejected *a priori* by students like myself as wholly impossible. Since I wrote to you last, I have found more examples. I propose to publish the lists here locally in the Burma Research Society's Journal for criticism and those examples which cannot stand the scientific test will be weeded out. Then it will be safer to draw conclusions from statements of undisputed facts. Already Professor Luce has been good enough to criticise my paper in a most friendly spirit. I send you a copy of his criticism and my reply thereto for your perusal. If you think it worth while showing them to Dr. Stede, you may do so. It is only by fair criticism and discussion that we can expect to build up the science.

There is one point in Dr. Stede's letter on which I wish to make a few observations. The history of Burmese has as yet to be written and this cannot be done without a further study of its philology. This want of a history is, however, compensated for by the comparatively slow progress in the development of the language, due perhaps partly to, among other causes, (a) the conservatism on the part of the people; (b) the monosyllabic tendency of the language; (c) the isolation and the consequent slow march of civilisation. In other words, Burmese would be one of the better preserved varieties.

Dr. Stede's dicta (a) that further researches on these lines may throw a new light on the relation of Aryan languages to other groups; (b) that some of my examples are unequivocal in scientific value and (c) that 'as a mere statements of facts such of my examples are correct', [though it is not yet

safe to draw any conclusions] are too valuable to be lost in my studio. They would give an impetus to further researches by other students. I therefore hope he will consent to my publication of his letter.

Yours sincerely,

SHWE ZAN AUNG,

Myaungmya, October 1916.

P. S.—You may rest assured that I will not turn aside from philosophy to philology altogether.

Dear U Shwe Zan Aung,

You were kind enough to ask Maung Tin to shew me your interesting paper on Burmese philology, and I take that to mean an invitation to me to criticise it. You would not have done so, had you known my profound ignorance of the subject; in fact I may say that my only philological connections amount to the fact that at Cambridge I had as my tutor a celebrated philologist (Giles), whose lectures I consistently cut! However your courtesy claims at least some return from me, and I can say at least that I was immensely interested in your theory; and for the rest, you will merely regard what I have to say as 'outside criticism,' which might occur to any educated person without any leanings to philology. And it is particularly difficult for me to say anything of value, since I know no Pali, little Burmese, and what I once learnt of Sanscrit I have entirely forgotten. As a natural consequence I obviously cannot criticise the kernel of your paper, the list of Burmese words and their comparatives in Aryan languages, since I can only realise the ingenuity and not the inevitableness that links them.

In the earlier part of your paper the thing I miss most is a *law*, comparable (say) to Grimm's, which would teach one what to expect in the relation between at least some of the individual consonants and vowels of Burmese and those of any one Aryan language. Perhaps it is premature for me to expect one, or perhaps there are indications of one in your paper which I have missed. Anyhow what strikes me in your list of comparatives is the occasional instance when the same Burmese letter appears in English in different letters in different words:—e. g., you connect, if I am not mistaken, Burmese *Kri*: with English *chief* and *great*; why should Burmese *K* appear in English, now as *ch*, now as *g*? Other instances occur to me, e.g. *phak-foil*, *rvak-leaf*; *pin-pinc*, *lin-lean*. Certainly a law, if you could discover one, is required, I think, to raise your theory to the level of a proved fact.

Your answer to this criticism, I imagine, will be that in comparing Burmese with a language so complex and adulterated as English it is unfair to expect any regularity of relation in the letters. This is true, and it brings me to my second criticism—which is, that I am sorry you have not confined yourself rather to the simpler relations of Burmese, Pali, and Sanscrit. There is an obvious danger in comparing Burmese to such a very far removed

cousin of the Aryan stock as English, mere similarity of sound and meaning counting for so little. And, in this connection, I feel inclined to question your statement of your attitude *a priori*—"In comparing Burmese and European languages, widely separated in both space and time, it would be sufficient if similar sounds represent similar ideas.... And if we can trace similar sounds with identical meanings to Pali or Sanscrit roots, it would strengthen the case still further." Is this not rather a round-about method of approaching the problem? You will grant, I believe, that Pali and Sanscrit are more closely related in space and time to Burmese than are European languages; it seems therefore better to deal with the former direct instead of merely using them as a corroborative; for once you establish a law of relations between Burmese, Pali and Sanscrit, the fact that there is a relation between Burmese and European languages and English will follow as a matter of course. And, besides that, is not unlikely (judging from one's knowledge of the connections between European languages which are fairly closely connected in space and time) that we should find any but the vaguest *apparent* similarity of sound or meaning between, say, English roots and Burmese which, as you admit, are far more widely separated? Or that if such apparent similarity exists, it should argue any real connection? Even if you take such intimates as English and Latin, I doubt if a person unacquainted with Grimm's and other laws, would often read the latent connection between common roots (I exclude of course words directly borrowed from Latin into English); and of course the meaning of the roots has often completely changed. How much less should one expect to be able to judge from appearances in comparing English and Burmese!

You will say, we have to judge from appearances, since we have nothing else to judge from. But the history of philology shews, does it not, that in comparing languages one must judge rather by the regular *correspondencies* than the apparent similarities of sounds and their component letters.

You will not take my remarks too seriously; there is very likely no value whatever in them. They will suffice, I hope, to show you that I have read your paper with real interest and appreciation and not only this paper but your other ones in the Research Journal, which seem to me a most valuable contribution to Burma and philology.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) G. H. LUCE,

Rangoon College, 15th Sept. 1916.

P. S. Another point I forgot to mention:—

I do not think you have made very clear your view of the relation between Pali and Burmese originally; perhaps you avoid doing so intentionally. You say "Our vocabulary was for the most part derived from Pali *by descent*" "The pre-Aryans divided into two great branches, Aryan and Mongolian." Am I right in believing you to mean that there is no *non-Aryan nucleus* in Burmese or any Mongolian languages, but that the correspondences existing between Aryan languages and Burmese may be divided into two classes, (i) *cognate* roots (i. e. pre-Aryan originally) (ii) more numerous roots taken much later chiefly from Pali "by descent"?

Dear Professor Luce,

I have already acknowledged the friendly tone of your criticisms. I have now carefully read your letter and I am glad of an opportunity for further discussion. The subject is wide and unless I keep closely to the various points raised in your letter, there is an obvious danger of my wandering off the track. For the purposes of my reply I may group the cognate points together and rearrange the groups in the order in which I wish to answer.

I. You observe that I have not made clear my view of the relation of Pali and Burmese. I said—"I have discovered that a large part of its (i. e. Burmese) vocabulary of *common* words are of Indian origin." By this I meant that many of our words which we have been accustomed to suppose to be pure Burmese could be traced to either Pali or (Sanskrit) words or roots. I next said "I then formed a tentative theory that our vocabulary was for the most part derived from Pali by decent." You have mutilated this sentence of mine and quoted only the subordinate clause "our vocabulary was, etc." After pointing out the disturbing factors and interfering phenomena, I said "These factors and considerations necessitate a modification of my theory of decent." Finally, I formulated my present hypothesis that there was a primitive race or community in Central Asia, whom I call pre-Ariyan for want of a better term. Since then I have found that Hovelague in his *Science of Languages* was of the same opinion when he wrote: "These languages are for the philologists merely varieties of some primeval form of speech formerly spoken in Central Asia. Convinced of this truth we have undertaken to restore the words of this primitive language organically by everywhere re-establishing the original type by means of its better preserved varieties." In this connection I may observe that at first sight one might think that dead languages like Latin, Pali or Sanskrit are better preserved. But a little reflection shows that what have been preserved intact in these languages are the highly developed forms of a later stage. The original forms of the primitive speech would be better preserved in an isolated language like Icelandic or in a conservative language like Burmese with a monosyllabic tendency.

After briefly describing the mode of life that this primitive people are believed to have led, I said—"But they had considerably advanced in agriculture when they divided into two great branches Ariyan and Mongolian."

Now you have placed the mutilated clause referred to above side by side with "they divided into two great branches, etc." and asked me whether there is no non-Ariyan nucleus in Burmese or any Mongolian language. I cannot of course commit myself to a negative answer to such a question; for, a negative is far more difficult of proof than a positive. But it is for those who assert the positive to prove the existence of a common Mongolian nucleus. I remember reading somewhere that in some cases the Mongolian languages differ from one another as they differ from the Ariyan. But as I cannot quote this authority it must not be taken seriously. Mr. Taw Sein Ko, I. S. O., the best-fitted scholar after a lifetime of comparative study of Burmese and Chinese has so far succeeded in giving us some sixteen Chinese words in Burma of which, however, the majority are of Indian origin. Sir George Scott, C. I. E., in his *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*

wrote: "So far little beyond lists of words and hurried notes have been written. From these it is impossible to determine which is the mother tongue and which is the patois; still less which are the families and which are the groups."

My paper is not concerned with the possible non-Ariyan nucleus but with the correspondences between the Mongolian and the Ariyan. At this point you have asked me a further question whether I meant that the correspondences existing between Ariyan languages and Burmese may be divided into:—

- (a) a small number of pre-Ariyan cognate roots;
- (b) more numerous neo-Ariyan roots derived chiefly from Pali by descent.

I said that after division the two branches and their stocks developed along different paths on different lines. The divergence was so great that when Burmese came into contact later with Pali through Buddhism one could hardly recognise the other as a cousin. Burmese at that stage derived words from Pali by descent, especially words of philosophical significance. At the present stage of our inquiry, it is premature and difficult to even approximately estimate the different proportions of pre-Ariyan and neo-Ariyan words; for common Burmese words which it is still possible to trace to Pali may be pre-Ariyan for all we know. My view is that when such correspondences in common words as Burmese *lā* (a man) and Anglo-Saxon *leod* (a man) can be traced to a primitive root, say, *lā*-to reap, but not to any corresponding Pali word, then I should have no hesitation whatever in regarding them as pre-Ariyan. My idea is that this pre-Ariyan word *lā* came into existence at the agricultural stage of the development of the primitive race before division and that the neo-Ariyan word *man* corresponding to Pali *Manussa* came to be applied to human beings when they began 'to think' at a much later stage of their mental culture after division, but before the Ariyan dispersal. I am informed that the term 'leod' was applied by the Biblical translators to debased men. This, I think, was because the clergy as opposed to the laity was considered nobler in every nation. Because of this Biblical application later etymologists appear to have connected the word 'leod' with 'lewd.' Were this derivation correct, lower animals with greater passion would have a better right to the title of 'leod.' Webster's seems to be nearer the mark when it traces 'leod' to Sanscrit *ruh*-to grow. It is from words of this class that we have to construct a pre-Ariyan theory. But at the same time we require a working hypothesis to help us on our discovery of fresh correspondences. Since I prepared my long list of comparatives I have discovered more by the help of my hypothesis. E. g. If the pre-Ariyans did hunt before they took themselves to settled agriculture they must have done so with bows. Well, have we got any European word to match with our better preserved *le*: (a bow)? Yes, we have found it in your obsolete *leg* (a bow). A hypothesis verified in this way by fresh and further discoveries may be regarded as on a high road to being turned into a respectable theory.

II. You admit that once I establish a law of relation between Burmese and Pali (or Sanscrit) the fact that there is a relation between Burmese and European languages would follow as a matter of course. I said "If this (tentative) theory of descent from Pali were recognised the kinship between

Burmese and European languages would follow as a natural and necessary corollary." Then, why have I not confined myself to comparing Burmese and Pali? You took me to task for not having confined myself to the simpler relations of Burmese, Pali and Sanscrit. Had I done so, I would appear to have been working on a theory that Burmese was derived from Pali by descent and all such correspondences between Burmese and European languages as are not traceable to Pali would have to be rigorously excluded from my study. But do you not think, the wider the field of comparison, the better for the science of comparative philology? Witness the vast stride comparative philology made on the discovery of Sanscrit. Should European philologists have confined themselves to European languages only? Why have they come so far as India? Should they not go further afield and find the missing links between Ariyan and Mongolian languages? Has the last word been said on the classification of languages into families and groups? These are a few of the questions which suggest themselves to me. You would 'rather deal direct with Pali or Sanscrit than use it as a corroborative in comparing Burmese and any of the European languages.' But I think I have rather used distant European languages as a corroborative of the near relationship of Pali and Burmese; for I consider the greater the distance in time and space, the more it lends itself to corroboration. In any case the wider comparison increases the corroborative value of one another.

III. You say 'it is not unlikely that we should find but the vaguest similarity of sound *or* meaning between English and Burmese which are admitted by me to be more separated in both time and space than are Burmese and Pali.' But considering the distance, there is a remarkable agreement of both sound and sense, e. g.

Burmese *lin* = English *lean*
poi = *pawn*

And there are a host of other similar examples in my list. But then you add that 'mere similarity of sound *and* meaning counts for so little and that there is an obvious danger, in comparing Burmese to such a very far removed cousin of the Ariyan stock as English.' I have selected English because I happen to know it. Had I known Swedish or Icelandic, I might, have selected either, partly because the more isolated a language is, the better preserved it is and partly because the earliest forms are more likely to be found in the languages of the people who formed the vanguard of the successive waves of Ariyan migration into the West.

You say that 'the history of philology shews that in comparing languages we must judge rather by the regular *correspondences* than apparent similarities of sounds and their component letters.' If the emphasis be on the word 'correspondences,' I would instance the following examples:—

Burmese.	Sanscrit.	English.
Khyve:	√ <i>svid</i>	sweat
Khyiu (pron. chō)	√ <i>svad</i>	sweet

Here the English letter s regularly corresponds to Burmese khy in both examples and w, to either v or o.

Again, English s regularly corresponds to c in the following examples:—

Burmese.	Pali.	English.
Cvat, ciu (pron. cō)	√ suc	soak
Ciu: (pron. cō:)	savati, √su	sway

In both sets of examples the sounds of s, c, and khy are similar; for, Burmese c is but the nearest attempt to pronounce s and Burmese khy is an attempt to pronounce Pali c (as in English church) or ch.

But judging from your question on k of Burmese becoming now g, now ch in English, the emphasis appears to be on the word 'regular' which you contrast with 'apparent.' On the regularity or otherwise of correspondence I will have to say something more later on. The question, however, attaches more importance to letters than to sounds.

But you will agree with me that sounds are primary signs of ideas and letters of an alphabet are merely secondary signs of sounds. (I do not mean that speech-sounds are the only primary signs.)

Henry Alexander, B. A., late of Queen's College, Oxford, writes in his chapter on English Philology in a book entitled *A guide to the English Language*: "The first important point to be noticed in dealing with the sounds of English is that it is the sound of the language we are discussing and *not merely letters*. Most people whose acquaintance with language is chiefly and of necessity through the medium of literature, tend unconsciously to think of language always as a thing which is written down on paper or printed in books. They think of language as composed of words and letters and forget that such words and letters are only real in so far as they represent something that is spoken. Before studying the science of phonology or of philology in general it is essential to realise the difference between the written and the spoken language and to think and speak of language *in terms of sounds and not of letters*."

The writer of the article on phonetics in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says that "Phonetics," which 'comprehends language and philology in their fundamental constitution is used to designate a work on the enumeration, evaluation, relations, classification, analysis and synthesis of sounds actually used in speech in conveying and recording thought by different nations and tribes together with the means of fixing them by visible signs,' But he recognises that the alphabet has followed speech-sounds with very halting steps. Suppose a new practical alphabet could be constructed to represent all possible shades of different sounds, would not our past attempts to fix sounds by means of the existing alphabet shrink to small proportions? You wish to question what you call my 'a priori attitude based on similarity of sound and meaning as a round-about method of approaching the problem.' Sound, as we have seen, are the principal materials of a philologist and identical sounds with identical meanings are facts which must be accepted as primary data. Similar sounds with similar meanings are also facts but only a degree removed from identical sounds. A theory based in facts cannot be *a priori*. If a theory based on facts be verified by further facts discovered because of such a theory, we cannot call this circular movement a round-about method. Newton's

theory of gravitation based on the fall of an apple is strengthened all the more when verified by the fall of the moon.

IV. You 'miss most in the earlier part of my letter to Professor Rhys Davids a law comparable (say) to Grimm's.' I find Grimm's law briefly described in the appendix to a *Primer of Philology* by Dr. John Peile, M.A., Litt. Dr. of Cambridge University. What Grimm discovered was the interchange of consonants among (a) aspirated, (b) surds, and (c) sonants between (i) Indo-European whose representatives are Latin, Greek and Sanscrit, (ii) Low German whose representative is English and (iii) Old High German. For instance, surds (p, t, k) of Indo-European generally become aspirated in Low German. To give a concrete example.—

Greek *phrater*—English *brother*.

But Verner showed that Greek t sometimes becomes d, instead of th as in the above example, in English. E. g. .

Greek *patēr*—Old English *faeder*.

Have all exceptions been exhausted by Verner? Thus Grimm's is not a universal law but merely a general rule deduced from the examples he studied. Kaccāyana framed some fifty-two such rules of changes of vowels and consonants within the language of Pali and none of them pretend to be universal. They often read—'R' generally becomes 'l'; 'y' sometimes becomes 'j' and so forth. One of the most sensible rules of his runs somewhat as follows:—

'Should you meet with any examples in language or literature, not covered by any of the earlier or later rules, do not reject them merely because of the absence of a rule but accept them and evolve your own rule.' And I may add that more rules have since been framed by later authorities who profited by Kaccāyana's sound advice.

You 'doubt if a person unacquainted with Grimm's and other laws would often read the (?) latent connection between common roots of English and Latin.' Of course these so-called laws are very helpful. I do not know Latin but if I know a general rule that j and y are convertible, I would be able to connect Latin *Juvenis* with English *young*. But however useful these rules may be, they are after all mere applications to particular examples met with in languages of some higher and more general principles of phonetics based on our mechanism of speech.

The following table exhibits an ancient classification of sounds based on the organ of speech:—

In this table sounds arranged horizontally according to the *position* (Pali *ṭhāna*) may be called cognate, because they take their birth, so to speak, in a particular part of our mouth, such as throat, palate, etc. Sounds arranged vertically according to the *manner of utterance* may be called allied sounds. The more proximate the two positions are the more allied the sounds become. The easy transition from one cognate sound to another is due to the small difference in the manner of their formation. If breath is emitted without a previous check in some parts of the mouth as when the mouth is kept in an open position, nothing is heard. But the breath changes into voice when it vibrates as it issues through the two vocal cords. When this voice is emitted with the mouth kept open, a vowel sound is heard.

If the breath is temporarily checked before emission, a surd or hard consonant is heard; but if, instead of the breath, the voice is so checked, a sonant or soft consonant is heard.

If the check of the breath be complete, a hard, momentary explosive (k, c, t, p,) is heard; but if the check of the voice be complete, a soft momentary explosive (g, j, d, b,) is heard.

On the other hand, if the check of the breath be but partial, we get the spirant or aspirated, fricative, continuous consonants (kh, ch, th, ph) but if the check of the voice be partial, we get other fricatives (gh, jh, dh, bh), the sibilant, the semi-vowels and the liquids.

When the voice issues through the nostrils, we get the nasals. Now, Grimm's law confined to the first four columns of the table is intelligible. But it need not be confined to the three groups of languages he studied. Not only, may it be extended to other languages but it is operative in one and the same language. The table also explains Verner's law.

We may illustrate some of the sound-shifts in the first horizontal column with the following examples:—

- Greek *khen*—Latin *hanser*.
- Greek *arego*—Latin *areco*.
- Greek *ango*—Latin *ankho*.
- Greek *Kardia*—English *heart*.
- Latin *cord*—English *heart*.
- Latin *caput*—English *head*.
- English *corn*—English *horn*.
- Pali *laghu*—Pali *lahu*.
- Pali *hingu*—Burmese *Rhin:kho*.
- Burmese *khvā*—Pali *khura*—English *hoof*.
- Burmese *khyī*—Pali *khip*—English *heave*.

The second horizontal column explains why *i* or *ī* changes to *iya* or *aya* in Pali; why *j* is pronounced as *y* in Icelandic; or why *y* and *j* often interchange as the following examples:—

- Latin *juvenis*—English *young*.
- Pali *nijam puttam*—Pali *niyam puttam*.
- Pali *yuvāna*—Latin *juvenis*.
- Pali *gavayo*—Pali *gavajo*.
- Burmese *yan*—English *jimp*.

The fourth horizontal column shows 'how simply Latin 'd' passes into 'r' or 'l' or *vice versa* as in the following examples:—

Latin *adbiter*=Greek *arbiter*.

Greek *Odysseus*=Latin *Ulysses*.

and explains why

Pāli *tedassa*=Pali *terasa*.

Pali *kudāro*=Pali *kudālo*.

Pali *kalavati*=Burmese *krok-tay*.

Burmese *Rahan*=Chinese *lohan*.

We can also see with Dr. Peile 'what small limits divide s and th; how easily an Englishman wishing to avoid German ch, the position for which is nearly that for y, utters sh instead, which is intermediate between s and th.' We know why pre-Ariyan *mud* corresponds to Burmese *mrū*: and European *muse*. And when we know that s and r often interchange the connection between Burmese *sam* and English *iron* becomes apparent, for *iron* in Anglo-saxon was *isen* which is akin to Old high German *isan*, German *eisen* and Icelandic *isarn*.

The fifth horizontal column explains why u becomes ava and why v becomes b in Pali.

The interchange between sounds in the vertical columns is not so easy because we have to change the position of our mouth. But k and c often interchange as also g and j. Hence the interchange between i or y and g is also frequent as in Pali *āyu*=Burmese *ayvay*=English *age*. Sometimes k becomes p or t as in Indo-European *kankan*=Greek *pente*. S very often becomes c or ch. Sanscrit possesses three S's, one of which is represented by c with a cedilla, thus ç.

Y and r in Burmese are interchangeable.

Among vowels a, u, o, are often weakened into i or e in English and so we can understand why Burmese *chū* should become *seethe* in English. But in Pali i or ī change into e and u or ū into o. Just as i or e becomes a semi-vowel y, so u or o becomes a semi-vowel v.

The above are some of the more important changes of sounds.

V. What 'strikes you in my list of comparatives is the *occasional* instance when the same Burmese letter appears in English in different letters in different words, e.g. 'Why should k of Burmese *kri*: appear now as ch in *chief*, now as g in *great*? Other examples occur to you, e.g. phak—foil, rvak—leaf; pin—pine, lin—lean.

From the tenor of your criticism I understand that you do not question these examples *qua* examples, but you merely question the principle that a letter of one language may appear in more than one letter in another.

Even within a language a letter changes to more than one other. E.g. In Pali k becomes sometimes kh, sometimes g, sometimes c, sometimes t and sometimes even v.—*Kattā*=*khattā*; *vākūrā*=*vāgurā*; *kaṅkamati*=*caṅkamati*; *kikicchati*=*cikicchati*; *suko*=*suvo*.

Again, in Burmese s sometimes becomes ch and sometimes t, e.g.

se:=*chī*:

sī khraṇ:=*te khraṇ*:

If this were the case with one language, how much more would it be between two or more languages? E. g.

Burmese

Bhurā:

Rahan:

Chinese

Fu-ya.

Lohan.

We have seen that even Grimm's law could not prevent Greek *t* becoming now *th*, now *d* in English, and that *k* of *kankan* become *p* and *t* in one and the same Greek word *pente*. Again, *y* of Pali *āyu* becomes *g* in English *age* and *y* of Pali *yuvāna*, *j* in English *juvenile*, if it does not remain *y* as in *young*. You will say that *juvenile* was derived from Latin *juvenis*. But Latin *juvenis* was connected with Pali *yuvāna*. Having now cleared the way, I may proceed to explain some of the examples you selected.

I derive the Burmese word *Krī:* (as in *A kri: a mhu:*) from the pre-Aryan root *khi*—to rule. By an extension of Grimm's law to Burmese we ought to have got *kī:* But *i* becomes *iya* as in Pali E.g.

Archaic

kī:

Mi:kī:

Modern

Kyī: (a crow)

Mi: kyī: (live charcoal)

And as *y* and *r* interchange in Burmese we have the present form *krī:* Now Europeans derive English *chief* from French *chef* which they connect with Latin *caput*. But I go a step further in tracing *chef* to *khi*. I derive the homonym *kri:*—to be great, from root *kir*—to be extensive. Europeans trace *great* to Anglo-Saxon *great* or Old English *gret* but go no further.

Europeans derive *foil* from Latin *folium*. I wish to push this derivation to Sanscrit *patra* (or ? *patla*)—a leaf. Compare Anglo-Saxon *bolla*—a bowl, corresponding to Burmese *Phalā:* from Sanscrit *patra*—a bowl. It is not difficult to derive Burmese *phak* from *patra*. I do not know the derivation of *rvak* but I have made it to correspond to *leaf* which is but a weakened form of Dutch *loof*, German *laub*. Old high German *loub*, Icelandic *lauf*, Swedish *lof*, and Danish *löv*. The point to note in these examples is that *k* of the couplet *phak* and *rvak* corresponds to *t* and *b* (or *v* or *f*) as *k* of *kankan* to *p* and *t* in Greek *pente*. The other couplet of *pin* and *lin* as corresponding to *pine* and *lean* calls for no remarks except that if they or any other examples in my list do not satisfy any known phonetic laws or are not supported by any other examples in the same language or in any other languages, I am ready to drop them.

Since writing out the above reply I have received a sharp, at the same time favourable, criticism from Dr. Stede. I say favourable, because he has found some of my examples 'unequivocal in scientific value' though it is dangerous to draw any safe conclusions therefrom at present. But he is of opinion that with further study 'something that will throw a new light on the relation of Aryan languages to other groups' may be expected. This opinion is very valuable. It shows that he, too, like you, is interested in the theory, though he cannot as yet accept the argument as a whole. I have as yet to study his notes on points of detail.

I have since seen Mr. Taylor who has found some correspondences in common words between Burmese and Chinese.

E. g., *lā*—to come

dā:—a knife

My hypothesis has nothing to fear from such discoveries. It has nothing to lose but everything to gain from them. For, instance, I can derive *dā*: from a pre-Ariyan root *dā*—to cut. This root is not Mongolian in the sense of non-Ariyan; for, we find the same root preserved in Pali and a corresponding word in English *dirk*, *dag* or *dagger*. Europeans have traced '*dirk*' to Irish '*duire*.' Even if there be any ethnic affinities alleged or observed by some between the Irish of the East and the Irish of the West, I would not go so far as Dr. Macnamara in maintaining a theory of Mongolian (iron or) bronze-hawkers going across the continent of Europe over to Ireland. Europeans have connected *dagger* with '*dag*.' I think *dirk*, *dagger* and *dag* together with their other European kins may be traced to the same pre-Ariyan root *dā*—to cut. Here then is an equation of phonetic phenomena which in the end have something 'in common as regards their origin.' But because we students have been able to derive Burmese *dā*: from a root still preserved by Pali grammarians, it does not follow that our ancestors derived it by descent from Pali, since we have not been able to trace it to any known Pali word extant in Bhuddhist literature. If our forefathers borrowed it from Pali, they must have done so only from a known word without thinking of the root. Thus the idea of deriving this word from Pali by descent is precluded. It might be urged that we got our word from its Chinese kin and the Chinese got theirs from Sanscrit. Then it is for the Chinese scholars to trace it to a known Sanscrit word (but not the mere root) extant at the time of the introduction of Sanscrit into China. If they cannot do so, then the theory of borrowing it by contact would be untenable. Of course one solitary example like this is not sufficient to establish my hypothesis of 'branching off' from a common pre-Ariyan stock as a theory. But there are a host of other examples of this kind in my list. And I would ask my critics to examine each example on its own merits and accept or reject it only after examination. Then only something really valuable may come of it. As the subject is of paramount importance as Dr. Stede has put it, not only would I invite criticisms, but I propose to publish them and my replies so that it may be thoroughly threshed out, before final acceptance of the theory in question.

I therefore hope you will have no objection to my publication of your valuable criticism and my reply. I enclose a copy of Dr. Stede's summary of his own opinions, and my acknowledgement of the debt I owe to him.

Yours sincerely,

SHWE ZAN AUNG,

Myaungmya, 25th October, 1916.

EXTRACT FROM THE BURMESE FACE OF THE MYAZEDI INSCRIPTION,

PAGAN.

[This should have appeared immediately after my paper *Klañjo-Kyezu* (which is but an introduction to this extract), on page 95, Vol. VI, Part II of this Journal. As the Editor pointed out in footnote 4 on p. 96, an unfortunate accident prevented its inclusion in that number. The following oft recurring abbreviations are used in this extract:

Mod.—modern.

pr.—pronounced.

B.—Burmese.]

§ 1.—Line 5— 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *phlac*—mod. 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *phrac* (pr. *phyit*) to be, to become.

A number of words with subscript 𑜋 , *l* are found in Burmese inscriptions from the 11th up to about the 15th century; the words in this inscription with subscript *l*, besides 𑜋𑜨 , are, line 16, 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 *klañjo*; line 17, 𑜋𑜨 *phu*; line 19, 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *plo'* and line 36, 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 *mlii*. I have elsewhere (*Klañjo-kye zūz*, in *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Vol. V, part II, p. 99) endeavoured to show that it was more than doubtful whether, in old Burmese (that is, of the 11th century and after) this *l* had really the value of an *l* and was not rather a form of medial *r* 𑜋 or *y*, 𑜋 , for in pronunciation the Burmese make no difference between these two letters, and pronounce them both as *y*. I shall quote here the passage containing the examples: "In form it (the subscript *l*) looks, it is true, like an *l*, and is written exactly as in Talaing inscriptions in which it has really this value, for instance in the word 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *clon*, in the Talaing face of the Myazedi. But such is not its value in old Burmese epigraphs, where it stands indifferently for a 𑜋 *y* or a 𑜋 *r* and shews incidentally that, even in the XIIth. century A. D., the *r* had already lost its original pronunciation and had softened into a *y*, while in Arakan it has retained it up to the present. Even the cursory examination of a few Burmese inscriptions clearly brings this fact into light, for the same words are often found indifferently written with a *r* or *y* as the case may be or with this supposed *l* symbol, and sometimes both forms are found in the same epigraph. I shall quote here only a few examples. The numbers within brackets shew the dates of the inscriptions. 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *khrok* (1197); 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *khlok* (1380); 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *khyañ* (1207); 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *khlañ* (1373); 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *kakhreiy* (1207); 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *khley* (1229); the modern form is 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *kron* (1229); 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *kloñ* (1342); 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *phrū* (1284); 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *phlū* (1299); 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *phrac* (1284); 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *phlac* (1112, 1299); 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *kyon* (1084); 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *klwan* (1395).

"The following are examples of the same words written both ways in the same inscription— 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *plañ*, 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 *prañ* (1197); 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *krwañ*, (the anusvāra, in Burmese, always stands for an *n*, so that the word is properly *krwan*), 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 , *klwañ* (1373), this interchange of anusvāra (=Burmese *n*) with *n̄* is

rather scarce, but several other examples have been found; မင်တ္တည်, *mañ klañ* (pr. *jyi*), မင်းကြီး, *mañ kri* (1299)."

To the above may be added, မင်ကြိ, *mañ kri*, မင်ကြိ, *mañ kli*, (1205); in an inscription dated 1385 A. D., both forms follow each other in the same line: တာယကာ . . . ကျောင်းပြုလုပ်သကောင်းမှု . . . *tāyakā . . . kyoñ pru ruy plu sa koñ mhu* . . . "the deed of merit performed by the devotee building a monastery." The last few examples are particularly interesting, as they shew both forms in the same document.

§ 2.—Researches subsequent to the article above quoted show, however, that, notwithstanding the recurrence of the same words contemporaneously under two forms, there can be no doubt that this subscript *l* was given its proper value and that the Burmese of eight centuries ago wrote their language as they pronounced it, that is, phonetically. This curious recurrence of the same word written, sometimes with an *l* and sometimes with an *r* or *y* points to a stage in the language during which this particular class of words was undergoing a phonetic change which is reflected in the epigraphs. It is, moreover, well known, that these letters, *l*, *r* and *y* are to a great extent interchangeable, even within the same language, as is evident in Burmese. For instance, whereas the Tavoyans have preserved the *l*, the Arakanese pronounce the same word with an *r*, but the Burmese with a *y*. From what precedes it may be deduced that subscript *l* represents, in Burmese, an earlier form of the words in which it occurs; and that these words were, for a certain period, pronounced indifferently with an *l* or with an *r* probably already softening into *y*, since we find them, during that period, indifferently spelt with any of these three letters. An exhaustive comparison of all the words in Burmese which now contain a medial *r* or *y* with related dialects would no doubt reveal, in many cases, those among them which could be traced back to an earlier dialectical form with *l*. But this would be a task of some magnitude. Meanwhile, the list of words given below, with medial *l*, and found in this inscription and some others, compared with their equivalents in other Tibeto-Burman languages, may prove interesting, in so much that it shows that many, if not all as yet, have also been found with a medial *l* in other languages. The lists of words at my disposal unfortunately often do not contain the words I am comparing.

ရွှင်, *phlac*; mod. ရွှင်, *phrac* (pr. *phyit*); no equivalent of this word could be found.

ပွေခိ, *plo'* and ပွါ, *plu*, mod. ပြု, *pru* (pr. *pyu*) to do, make; Tibetan:—*spyod*—ba; Chinbök:—*pyio*.

မိလိ, *mliy* (pr. ? *mlyê*), mod. မြေး *mre*^s (pr. *myi*^s) grandson, grandchild; Lolo dialects, Achipo:—*li zo* (*zo*=son=B. *sā*^s); Lolopo:—*li po* (*po* sign of the masculine); Naseupu:—*na shi*, all these mean "grandson"; grand daughter is, Achipo:—*li amê*; Lolopo:—*li mo* (*mo*=feminine).

ကလ္လော, *klañjo* (two other old forms are: ကလ္လော, *klañjā*, 1375 A. D., ကလ္လော, *klañchā*, 1194 A. D.), mod. ကျေးဇူး, *kye^s jū^s* (pr. *jye^s zū^s*) favour; the only equivalent found is Kachin:—*Kyaw ya*; in related languages, the

vowels, *a, e, u, o*, are often interchanged; also the consonants *y, j, z*; for instance, in the Lolo dialects, *su, so, se*=B. *sā*³, a son; "to take" is in Singphō, *yā* or *jō*; "one hundred" in the Northern Chin sub-group, *zā, jā, yā* (see Line 2—၅၁).

အကြောင်း, *aklon* (1190, 1342 A. D.; in the Myazedi, it is written ကြောင့်, *kron*), mod. အကြောင်း, ကြောင့်, *akron³ kron¹* (pr. *ajyaung³ jyaung¹*), cause, reason, because; Tibetan:—*rgyu, rkyen*=cause, on account of, because; Maru:—*yaung*; Tavoyan:—*aklong*.

ဆွဲလိက်, *khlok*, mod. ခြောက်, *khrok* (pr. *chauk*) the number 6; Sifan:—*kru, chro*; Moṣso:—*choa*; Lolo (Liso):—*khrawk, chawk*; Maru:—*chauk*; Lashi:—*chuk*; Szi:—*cho*; Kachin:—*kru*; Ao (Nāga):—*trok*; Khari (Nāga):—*tarōk*; Khami:—*terü, tarü*; Tengsa (Nāga):—*thelok*; Siyin:—*lok, luk*; Tibetan:—*drug*.

ကျောက်, *klok*, mod. ကျောက်, *kyok* (pr. *tjyauk*) stone, rock; Lolo:—*ka-law*; Pön:—*k'alok*; Maru:—*lauk-pai*; Lashi and Szi: *luk*; Tibetan:—*brag*^{*} (rock).

ဖြူ, *phlā*, mod. ဖြူ, *phrā* (pr. *phyū*) white; Lolo (wo-ni) *pyu*; Lolo (Ssu-chuan):—*phru*; Kachin:—*praw, proñ*; Pön:—*a-phyu*; Maru, Lashi and Szi:—*phyu*.

ချောင်း, *khlon*, mod. ချောင်း, *khyon³* (pr. *chaong³*) a large brook, rivulet, river; Sifan:—*che-kong*; Sifan (Peu): *chaung o*; Maru:—*hök-lawng, kiaung*; Szi:—*khawng*; Ahi (Lolo):—*yi cho* (Cf. B. ချောင်း, pr. *ye chaong³*); Tavoyan:—*khlong*; Tibetan:—*klun, chu*.

မြစ်, *mlac*, mod. မြစ်, *mrac* (pr. *myit*) a large river; Maru: *rit*.

ကွတ်, *klwat* mod. ကွတ်, *kywat* (pr. *tjyut*) to be loosed or freed from: Cf. Tibetan:—*glod-pa*, to loose; *grol-ba*, to become free.

ကျောင်း, *klon*, mod. ကျောင်း, *kyon³* (pr. *tjyaong³*) a monastery; I have not found this word in the vocabularies. Mr. Taw Sein Ko, however, tells me, that it is still pronounced *klon* in Tavoyan; and he gives the Chinese *kung* (pr. *kiong* in the Amoy dialect, in Burmese Sketches, p. 30.)

CHAS. DUROISELLE.

* The relation of Tibetan *brag* to Burm. *klok* and *kyok* is very doubtful.

CORRESPONDENCE ON THE BURMA ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT 1915-16.

Dear Mr. Taw Sein Ko.

I am much obliged for the advance proof of your Annual Report. These reports are always interesting and this one is particularly so.

I venture to make the following comments.

Paragraph 38.

Your explanation of *tra : ḥa :* as=*dhammasāmi* seems probable. In that case, *tra*:=Burm. တရား (and is not the same as *tra* : "slave.")

Paragraph 40.

I am not sure that the actual Pali of the inscription is quite "faultless," but that it is not, perhaps, what you wish to suggest.

Paragraph 44.

On this point we are still discussing, but I agree that the non-correspondence with Mon points to the Burmese terminology having been formed prior to and independent of the 11th century introduction of Southern Buddhism from Thaton. It is as well to have that made clear, even if it does not settle the whole question at issue between us.

Paragraph 46.

It is not yet clear whether the surd in these words had changed into a sonant in actual Pyu pronunciation, or whether their sonants generally had already become surds in value and thus served to represent Indian surds. I incline (though not by any means positively) to the latter alternative, because of the form of the King's name, and the prince's. But plainly the point is arguable.

Paragraph 48.

I still wonder whether Rahmā is really Burma. There are some difficulties in regard to the identification.

Paragraph 51.

I doubt whether the Pyu text of the inscription has anything to do with the Chinese text. About the only phrase I have succeeded in reading in the Pyu seems to mean "the Buddha said," and this indicates that the inscription is a religious one and unconnected with the invasion of Pagan under Kublai Khan.

Paragraph 52.

The identification of "Prome" (while the *m* is apparently not original, the native form in Mon being 𑏃𑏪) with Brahma has always seemed to me improbable. In Mon Brahma regularly forms 𑏃𑏪𑏫 (contracted in writing to 𑏃𑏪).

Paragraph 53.

Rubbings of the Pyu and Talaing inscriptions under (iii) and (iv) might as well be sent to me.

Paragraph 55.

I should be glad to have transcripts and translations of the inscriptions of the Ananda plaques, so far as not already sent to me, to help me with my own inscriptions, especially if they furnish so many new words.

Paragraph 69.

Copies of these inscriptions would be welcome as an aid to the decipherment of those with which I am entrusted. But it should be clearly stated in sending them that they are for this purpose, or I might, by mistake, insert them in my own series.

Paragraph 71.

I have never yet come across the evidence of this western extension of Cambodian rule and it seems to me rather in need of strict proof, though probable enough *a priori*.

It would be better to say that Cambodia was ruled by Khmers. The term "Mon-Khmer" is merely an invention of scholars to denote the whole group, it is not the name of any particular nation.

Paragraph 72.

This Chola question is still very obscure. The identification of Kaḍāram with Pegu (or Prome, as was formerly suggested) seems to me unsupported by adequate evidence. Takkolam is likely to be the Takola of the Milinda Pañhā, but I think it is not Taikkula but further south near the isthmus of Kra.

If Kaḍāram be Pegu, I do not think it can have been conquered by the Cholas in 1069 when Burmese power was so strong.

Are any of these Burmese or Mon Kings known to have had names ending in—*varman*? This style is common elsewhere (in S. India and Indo-China.)

Paragraph 76.

The Nicobarese are not Negritos, though the Andamanese are. The Nicobarese much resemble the ruder kind of Indo-Chinese type. All the Nicobarese dialects are closely interrelated and form a group cognate to Mon-Khmer, Palaung, Khasi, &c. There is, therefore, no point in detaching Car Nicobarese by itself and asserting its claim as if it was any stronger than that of the others.

Paragraph 89 (page 40).

Is not "Mahāyānist" a slip for "Hināyānist"? The language is Pāli, and the sentiment seems quite orthodox.

I do not suppose you will be able to make any particular use of these rather scrappy notes but of course you are quite at liberty to do so if you wish to.

I recently spent a very profitable week with Mr. Halliday discussing the difficulties arising in the interpretation of the archaic Mon inscriptions. His intimate acquaintance with the modern language was of great help in many cases of doubt and difficulty.

He has acquired copies of a few Mon works which decidedly deserve to be published and I have urged him to edit some of them, which he is thoroughly capable of doing. But the cost of publication would have to be arranged for, and I hope that when the Mon inscriptions have got a fair start it will be found possible for the Government and the Burma Research Society to subsidize the publication of some of these Mon texts, which are, in some cases, of considerable interest both linguistically and from the point of view of their contents. Up to now, there has been nothing done in this direction except Schmidt's work, of which an English version by myself still awaits publication, having been delayed for various circumstances. The Paklat edition, without notes, commentary, or translation, are insufficient for the study

of the language owing to the absence of a good dictionary. Halliday would edit, translate, and comment, with explanatory notes, and thus make the new texts of use to students. I hope you will be able to stimulate interest in this matter.

Yours very sincerely,
C. OTTO BLAGDEN,
London, 24-7-16.

Dear Mr. Blagden,

I was immensely gratified to receive your letter of the 24th July, 1916, because it contains comments by a fellow-worker in the same field on my Annual Report, which is probably the last that I shall write as Superintendent of Archaeological Survey. May I venture to make a few remarks on your comments?

Paragraph 38.

I am extremely glad that my explanation of tra: ḥa: is acceptable to you. I think it would be of great advantage if the four faces of the Myazedi Pillar could be compared and studied together.

Paragraph 40.

Taking into consideration the age of the Myazedi Pillar, and speaking comparatively, the Pali face may be described as "faultless." I translated it into English, and sent you a copy of my translation. In the course of my translation, I detected no glaring errors.

Paragraph 44.

It affords me an intense gratification to learn that my view of the question is accepted by you. The evidence available points to the fact that Pagan was already acquainted with Buddhism, and that the Burmese Buddhist terminology had already been crystallized long before the conquest of Thaton in the 11th century.

Paragraph 46.

I am prepared to accept your opinion that, in Pyu, sonants became surds. For the present, it will be safe not to disturb this thesis.

Paragraphs 48, 53, 55 and 69.

Your remarks on these four paragraphs have been communicated to Mr. Duroiselle, as they concern his Branch of the Department, and he has been asked to reply to you direct.

Paragraph 51.

Two theories may be advanced: (i) That the Pyu text is a translation of the Chinese text; (ii) That the Chinese text is inscribed on the reverse face of an already existing Pyu text. Until the Pyu text has been fully translated, we could not come to any definite decision, one way or the other; but, for the present, the presumption in favour of the first theory is very strong.

The expression, "The Buddha said" in the Pyu text may mean that the invasion of Pagan under Kublai Khan was ordained or prophesied by the Buddha. Such an interpolation is necessary to bring consolation to a conquered Buddhist nation, and to reconcile them to the newly imposed foreign yoke.

Paragraph 52.

Indra and Brahma are called Hpra-In and Hpra Pawm by the Siamese and the adjacent tribes. The form "Pawm" appears to be a modification of "Prohm," which signifies "Brahma" in Cambodian. The term "Prawn or Prawm" may have been derived from Cambodian through Talaing.

Paragraph 71.

Thank you very much for correcting me to say that "Cambodia was ruled by the Khmers." In 1350 A. D., the Kingdom of Siam was carved out of the Cambodian Empire, and it came in like a wedge dividing the Mons from the Khmers.

Paragraph 72.

I have paid a good deal of attention to the identification of Kaḍāram and Takkōlam. The subject is fully discussed at pages 14—16 of my Annual Report for the year ending 31st March, 1910. Kaḍāram is also called Kālagam in Tamil literature. Kālagam appears to be made up of *Kāla* and *gām*, a village, in the same way as Pūgam is made up of *Pu* and *gam*. Now Kālagam may be identified with the "Kalah" of the Arabian geographers, the "Takola" of Ptolemy, and the "Goḷamattika-nagaraṃ" of the Kalyāṇī inscription. The term Kulaittakolam, in Tamil, appears to be a combination of Kulataik, in Burmese, and Taikkula, in Talaing. "Taik" means a mud hut or wattled cottage and corresponds to the Pali "Mattika;" "Kula" is a modified form of "Goḷa," which may become "Guḷa" "Kula" or "Kala." You say that, if Kaḍāram be Pegu, you do not think it could have been conquered by the Chōḷas in 1069 A. D., when Burmese power was so strong.

We have adopted 1057 A. D., as the date of the conquest of Thaton by Anawrata. It is a provisional date and may require revision in accordance with the chronological data given in the Myazedi Pillar (see page 66 of my *Burmese Sketches*). However, it is quite possible that, in 1069 A. D., or 12 years after the conquest of Thaton, Pegu was conquered by the Chōḷas. Burmese power, established by Anawrata, was never so strong at Thaton, and adequate administrative machinery, both civil and military, appears to have been absent. As a matter of fact, no mention is made of Pegu in the Burmese annals relating to the invasion of the Talaing country by Anawrata; and, by way of a return compliment, the Talaing Chronicles make no mention of Anawrata's conquest of Thaton. It is said that Rājendra Chōḷa I. overran Pegu in 1025-1027 A. D., i. e. to say, 30 years before Anawrata's expedition to Thaton. The silence in the native chronicles is rather ominous, and the only inference, which is supported by the evidence of the Tamil inscriptions, is that Pegu was subject to the Chōḷa domination at that period. Indeed, for a period of 500 years, i. e. from the 8th to the 13th century A. D., nothing is mentioned of Pegu in the Talaing annals. It may, therefore, be presumed

that it was subject to foreign rule for five centuries. The subject is fully discussed in paragraph 25 of my Annual Archaeological Report for the year ending 31st March, 1908.

In the Tamil epigraphs, the Kings of Kaḍāram bear names ending with —*varman*, and if Kaḍāram is to be identified with Pegu, you wish to know whether any of the Burmese or Mon Kings had such names. My reply is in the negative, the explanation being that the vassal Kings of Pegu were of Indian and not of Talaing nationality. As under the Mughals, so under the Cholas, it was quite probable that Indian Military Commanders blossomed into vassal or independent Kings in time.

I hope you will have leisure to look up the references cited by me, and let me know your further opinion on the subject.

Paragraph 76.

If anthropometrical measurements show that the Nicobarese belong to the Indo-Chinese type, they appear to be alien settlers, who have migrated from the mainland, and who have taken the Mon-Khmer language with them. If it is decided that they are Negritos or of Negrito descent, then it may be presumed that they accepted the Mon-Khmer language and polity.

Paragraph 88, line 1, page 40.

You wish to know whether the term "Mahāyānist" is not a slip for "Hīnayānist," the language being Pāli, and the sentiment seemingly being quite orthodox. The "Mahāyāna," the "Great Vehicle," is the Northern School of Buddhism, whose aim is to attain *Nirvāṇa* through Buddha-hood. This process takes a long time, because it takes aeons to become a Buddha. The metaphor is that a Buddha could convey on a raft (or vehicle) an immense concourse of people to the other shore (*Nirvāṇa*). The "Hīnayāna," the "Lesser Vehicle," is the Southern School of Buddhism, whose aim is to attain *Nirvāṇa* through a Discipleship. The process takes a much shorter period, and the *Arhat* enters *Nirvāṇa* alone and unattended, and figuratively speaking, on a smaller raft or vehicle. The sentiment expressed in the legend "Sabbāññuta-ñāṇassa pachchayo hotu," although it is in Pali, is, therefore, an orthodox Mahāyānist formula.

2. As regards Mr. Halliday's Talaing manuscripts for publication in Burma, I have already suggested, in my previous letter, that they should be sent to Mr. Duroiselle. We shall see whether they could be published with the assistance of the Local Government or of the Burma Research Society.

3. For your information, I am sending you a copy of the letterpress of my Report on "The Cave Temple of King Kyanzittha, Pagan." The source of the arches discovered in the monuments at Pagan, which were found neither in India nor Ceylon has hitherto been a mystery to Fergusson and others. I have attempted to show that they were probably derived from Mesopotamia through China, because that country was a Chinese protectorate for more than sixty years, during the 10th century A. D. Frescoes of the Pyus are found in this Cave Temple. The Pyus have been identified with the Lolos of South-western China, who are called by Dr. Thorel, a French scholar, a

"black branch of the Caucasian race." The Lolos resemble the Pyus in having, amidst Mongolian surroundings, prominent eyes, aquiline nose, small firm mouth, and pointed chin.

The Chinese Annals show that, in 1106 A. D., King Kyanzittha, feeling the precarious nature of his Kingship, and naturally anxious to acquire prestige in the eyes of his rivals, sent tribute to China whereby he declared himself to be a vassal of the great Chinese Emperor. When Kyanzittha sent his tribute mission, Burma had been in touch with China, more or less intimate, for a period of over ten centuries, and, during this long period, the arts, religion, and civilization of China had a great deal to do in shaping the course of development and career of the Burmese or Pyu nation, as is amply evidenced by the interesting frescoes discovered in this Cave Temple.

4. In paragraph 4, page 62 of my *Burmese Sketches*, mention is made of the Saka era, which began in 78 A. D., being adopted at Sriksheṭra. That year appears to be the date of accession, of Kanishka, the Kushana King (page 185, Rapson's *Ancient India*). There seem to be other links connecting Prome with Northern India, especially with that is now called the Panjāb. *Brahmarshideṣa*, "the country of the holy sages," is the name applied to the territories of the Kurus, Matsyas, Pañchālas and Āurasenas (i. e. the eastern half of the State of Patiala and of the Delhi division of the Panjab, the Alwar State and adjacent territory in Rājputāna, the region which lies between the Ganges and the Jamna, and the Muttra District in the United Provinces) (vide pages 50-51, *ibid*). Similarly, the region about Prome was named *Brahma-deṣa*, and its capital was called *Sri-Ksheṭra*, probably on the analogy of *Kuru-ksheṭra*, the scene of the great battle which forms the main subject of the *Mahābhārata* (page 47, *ibid*). The most striking similarity is *Erāvati* (Irrawaddy), the name of the river on which Prome stands. It is probably derived from *Irāvati*, the modern *Rāvi*, which is one of the five rivers of the Panjab. At page 168 of his work, Rapson says: "Parushnī, the name in the Rig-veda of the river which is called, in later Sanskrit, Irāvati, the modern Rāvi. It is the Hydraotes of the Greeks. It is celebrated in the Rig-veda in connexion with the victory of Sudās over the ten Kings." The river Irrawaddy at Prome is regarded by the Hindus as second only to the Ganges in its efficacy to wash away sin. During the solar eclipse of January 1907, and the Ardhodaya Festival of February 1908, large numbers of Hindus flocked to Prome to bathe in its sacred river. It will be interesting to investigate the historical connexion of these place-names, and to ascertain whether *Sri-ksheṭra* was known to the Panjab Hindus of the period of the Yajur-veda, which recognizes Serpent-worship, the caste-system, and ritualism (pages 47-49, *ibid*). These researches may probably establish the very high antiquity of Prome and confirm some of the native traditions.

Yours sincerely,

TAW SEIN KO.

Maymyo, 28th August, 1916.

Dear Mr. Taw Sein Ko,

I omitted to point out in my remarks on your draft Report that (para 46) it is not well expressed to say that "the German word *Gott* becomes 'God' in English," because in point of fact the *d* is an older stage in this case than the *t*.

The analogy with the Pyu phenomena, therefore, is not a genuine one.

Either (1) Pyu really pronounced *Dathagada*, in which case the *d* is secondary, unlike the *d* in *God*; or (2) Pyu had, before the period of the Myazedi inscriptions, turned its original sonants into surds and consequently used the sonant letter with surd values, i. e. wrote *Dathagada* but pronounced *Tathakata*. If this alternative explanation is the right one, the case would be parallel to the Mon and Khmer changes of sonants into surds.

I am not able to say which is the right explanation. The second one would be parallel to the change of *d* to *t* in *God* to *Gott*. But in either case the illustration you have given does not constitute a true analogy.

Yours sincerely,

C. OTTO BLAGDEN.

London, 29th July, 1916.

* * * * *

Dear Mr. Blagden,

My impression is that the Pyu really pronounced *Dathāgada* and not *Tathākata*, and *Medeya* and not *Metteya*. Pali words with surds still exist in the Burmese language, and I think they are a heritage from the Pyu. For instance, for the Pali word *paṭṭhāna*, the Burmans write *padhāna*. In the Buddhist ordination ceremony, whose validity is supposed to depend, in a certain measure, on the accentuation of the Pali text, words with sonants and surds are repeated, one after the other. Thus, after reciting *thapetvā*, the word *dhapetvā* will be repeated, as if there is any uncertainty in the pronunciation of the word, and in order to safeguard against any possible invalidity of the ceremony. This marked peculiarity in the ordination ritual shows that the Burmans have inherited two systems of pronouncing Pali words: (i) one with sonants, and the other (ii) with surds.

2. I made use of the equation *Gott*=*God*, not as a true philological analogy, but as a popular one, which will be intelligible to the general reader.

3. Your queries on certain paragraphs of my last Annual Report and my replies thereto are being sent to Rangoon for publication in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society*.

Yours sincerely,

TAW SEIN KO.

Maymyo, 1st September, 1916.

SOME HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

Everyone has heard of the Burmese "Domesday Book," and a few isolated extracts have been printed, but although some acquaintance with them is essential to the student of Burmese history, no attempt, so far as I am aware, has been made to place them on record in a form easily accessible. In fact it was long believed that as regards the Lower Province all these records had been lost. That is not the case; for the greater part of the country they exist in the form of "parabaiks" or else as palm-leaf manuscripts in the Bernard Free Library among the collection of writing formerly belonging to the Kinwun Mingyi. Those which are here presented together with an English translation relate to the Thirty-two Provinces of Hanthawaddy, one of the three historic divisions of the Kingdom of Pegu. The collection is defective, only 22 of the "provinces" are represented, and the earlier record, that of 1145 B. E. (1782 A. C.) is only illustrated by 6 examples.

The translation was made nearly ten years ago and I can not guarantee its detailed accuracy; but that is not a matter of great importance as the original version will appear at the same time. A great deal of the matter, by far the greater part, is devoid of interest, save for the local antiquarian; but in many of the records there are passages which throw a light on economic and political conditions in Burma during the reign of one of its most powerful kings.

J. S. FURNIVALL.

THE RECORD OF THE PROVINCE OF HANTHA-WADDY IN THE YEAR 64.

The deposition of Nga Aing—a son of the fifth day of the week—Myothugyi of Hanthawaddy, taken on the ninth waxing of Tawthalin in the year 1164:

Sir,

The Master was going among the Places of the North when he arrived at the summit of Kurupappata, when he saw the pair of Hinthas, large and small, doing him reverence with clasped wings from the summit of Hintha Pappata. This is the Oracle of the Hinthas which the Master gave in the province of Gawunpati and in the province of Ananda and in the province of the Thakya Min himself: "In the place where the Hinthas large and small are resting shall come to be the residence of the Rajatāni Province, and the limits of their feeding grounds shall be city boundaries."

These are the boundaries of the city within the limits of their feeding grounds: on the east on one side of the Syriam stream bordering on the Maing Yun land; on the north east Muthit, Mutamaw, Kyaukkyi, Metin, Teinchaung so far as the brother and sister in tree bordering on the land of Toungoo; on the North, Pyu Chaung Zeyawadi, Bonmi Mudaw Paya bordering on the land of Toungoo; on the North West Kon Saung so far as the southern ridge, the Tharrawaddy Yoma, and Thönze Chaung bordering

on other land of Tharrawaddy; on the West the mouth of the Kattutin stream passing beyond the middle of the Irrawaddy river and bordering on the land of Danubyu and Zayun Cities; on the South West, Bingalagiri hill, Indapura, Barana *in* and the ocean bordering on the lands of Bassein; on the South Gingawadi, Tareyingakotta and the ocean; on the South East the mouth of Kadat Chaung, and the Treasury of Martaban bordering on the lands of Kala City.

Within these boundaries within the four quarters and within the eight quarters these are the 32 towns which make up the City of Hanthawaddy; in the year 517 starting from Prince Thagala were founded Kyaukmaw, Amè, Donzayit and Kyigu in all four towns; in the reign of Wimala, Sittang, Dinmè, Zaywèbon and Attha, in all four towns; in the reign of Ahimu Areinda Raza Min, Mawbyo, Lakunbyi, in all two towns; in the reign of Maheittha Raza Min, Akharein, Ma-U, in all two towns; in the reign of Ponnareikha Min, Ramanago, Ramawadi, Hmawbi, and Hlaing in all four towns; in the reign of Teitha Raza Min, Paung lin Town the only one; in the reign of Pinya U^a Tandawgyi, Titut Zeta, Zaungtu, Pa-aing (?), Tonkhan, Rènwè, Mera nyinsara, Tinbaung, and Minyèhla, in all ten towns; in the reign of Rajadirit, Kawliya and Paingta in all two towns; in the reign of the woman ruler Pinya Daw Kan Shin Zaw, Winbyaing town the only one; in the reign of Dhammazedi Min the town of Yunzalin; in the reign of Thushin Takarut^a Bi Min the town of Hinthia Zainganaing: these are the towns that were founded; from the reign of Thu Shin Takarut Bi, these names have been determined to make up the thirty-two provinces of Hanthawaddy.

This is the boundary between the land of Hanthawaddy the chief city and the town of Syriam: from the Sittang river Mayan stream, the Winle stream, the Dezat Asaing stream; from Ma So stream on the East and the extremity of Pan alwè Thanlyet so far as the glebe lands of the Dagon, the land of the Sacred Hair, across the middle of the Irrawaddy river is the boundary of Syriam and Dalla.

In laying down the boundaries of Hanthawaddy, Tha Lun Min Taya Gyi in the temporary palace took measures for the protection of the town. These were the allotted companies; seven companies of Yuns, four companies of jingals, four of muskets, twelve regiments of fighting men, four companies of horse two companies of maingmaw, two companies of kalas, two companies of lancers, fifty-one war boats and a company of cultivators of the royal lands,⁽¹⁾ to all these he allotted divers lands to work and live on. When he had appointed watches and residents the Governors of Hanthawaddy in due succession had full authority to appoint people to serve in them. The attendants of other Governors could not be appointed nor have authority; it was only after they had been appointed by the Governor of Hanthawaddy that they had to serve.

Within the wide boundaries were seven watch posts, the Kaw win watch post, the Hmaing kyon watch post, the Mibya watch post, the Danu watch post, Kemmendaing watch post, the Pan Hlaing watch post, the Yan(gon?)

(1) "Lamaing," predial slaves: the original inhabitants of Yandoon are said to have belonged to this class (s)

watch post and the San Ya watch post; in the royal reign of Alaung Mintayagyi, the father of the king, below Rangoon town the watch post, Laung Shè was established: in all eight watch posts. At the aforesaid watch posts no revenue is collected. At the watch posts at Danu and Mibya because they are at the entrance to the way where leave and enter ships and sampans from foreign lands and islands they have to keep unceasing watch day and night with beacons, so that they may know of them. Whether ship or sampan if they would enter within the royal wharf they have to cast anchor in seven fathoms of water. The pilot has to go by sampan into the Mibya watch post and Danu watch post. When the sampan arrives the men of the watch post have to accompany it and inform the officers of the Viceroy. The officers of the Viceroy depute a pilot and he goes with a man of the watch post to meet the vessel and bring it in. On arrival at the royal wharf after casting anchor the captain and the ship's officer go up and are questioned in the customs house.⁽¹⁾ Then they go to the Royal Court house with the interpreters and file a list showing the captain, ship's officers and lascars, and the cannon, guns, powder, lead, shot and all their goods for sale and clothes. The cannon, guns, powder, lead and shot they have to deposit in the customs house. They have to dismast the vessel and take out the ropes and sails. Guards are placed above and below the vessel to keep watch on it carefully. When they have placed the merchandise and clothes in the customs house the interpreters and appraisers and commissioners go up on board the vessel together with the officials and search it.

This is the gift to announce the arrival of the vessel to the King; a Sultanapure paso and a bale of madrepauc are put into a "hpa" and stamped it is given to men of the company of lascars who always have to bring it into the royal presence. These are the gifts on the entrance of the vessel, for each vessel to the Viceroy and Port Master a Sultanapur paso and two bales of madrepauc apiece, to the customs officer a dyed paso and two bales of madrepauc; to the Sitkès a plain paso and two bales of madrepauc apiece; to the Nakhans a plain paso and bale of dinga peik apiece, to the town writers a plain paso and a bale of dinga peik apiece. The people on board the vessel have to give them.

To the interpreters are given a dyed paso and a bale of.....cloth apiece. They have to make gifts both on account of entering and leaving. To the men who keep watch at the landing stage thirty-seven rupees are given, this is divided among those who keep watch on board the vessel. Of the goods deposited within the royal customs house when the officials have taken full and careful account of them the tenth part is taken as duty and presented to the King. If these are diamonds or emeralds or pearls of peculiar excellence they are stamped with a seal and taken on duty for the King.

Within the wide boundaries of Hanthawaddy besides the glebe lands of the Shwe Dagon pagoda there is no land dedicated to a monastery or pagoda and there are no stone inscriptions nor histories to be found.

Among those who earn their living by land and water within the glebe lands of the Shwe Dagon pagoda the commissioners of land sale and the

(1) Captain - *sic* မဏိ; ship's officer, *Malein* Bengali

owners of many cattle¹ receive the orders of the Master of the Revenue and Clerks of the Revenue of the Royal Court and distribute the demand and collect the revenue proportionately as among ears of corn that are long or short or trees that are small or high. The owners of many cattle and the commissioners of land sale have to adjust equally the repairing of faded gold on the pagoda and the lime and plaster work and wood oil.

Within the royal land for each pair of buffalo fifty baskets of paddy have to be measured and paid into the royal treasury. On each workman in the lakes and rivers there is no revenue assessed. The Karens have to pay nine rupees a head and their chieftain (Bo) four "mu" ⁽²⁾ and one anna of nine parts silver; four mu and one anna is also paid into the treasury ⁽³⁾.

The Zabeins had to pay ten rupees a head and their chieftain (Bo) two "mats" of eight parts silver; two "mats" of eight parts silver is also paid to the treasury. ⁽³⁾

The salt boilers have to pay into the treasury as revenue one "mat." The cultivators of vegetables have to pay according to their produce. The officials have to adjust and estimate and collect it.

The revenue is set before the queen in the royal palace of the king.

This is the deposition made with reverence towards his majesty.

(1) Or "the heads of the Karens"? ^၂

(2) Nine parts silver; Ywetni, pure silver, was twenty-five parts.

(3) i.e. There was no deduction between payment by tax payer and payment into the Treasury.

THE RECORD OF KAWLIYA TOWNSHIP 1145 B. E.

The deposition of Nga Lut aged 50, born on the 5th day of the week, Thugyi of Kawliya Township, one of the thirty-two provinces of Hanthawaddy at the entrance of the wide domains of Syriam of Rangoon, taken on the sixth day of the waning of Pyatho in the year 1145 according to the royal era.

The township of Kawliya was governed by my grandfather Nga Sin in the reign of the king who came to Hanthawaddy; after his death my father Nga Ni governed it, and my uncle Nwe Gyi. After my uncle died I have governed it from the reign of Alaung Min Taya Gyi during the reign of the next king ⁽⁴⁾ and during the reign of Sinbyushin who succeeded him.

The boundaries of Kawliya are these: on the East at the distance of about 1000 "tas" ⁽⁵⁾ it borders on the Talanum land of Ban Town; on the South at a distance of about 10,000 "tas" it reaches as far as Waw Pagoda, bordering on the lands of Pago Town; on the North at a distance of about 20,000 "tas" it borders on the Tonkhan and Renwe lands at the entrance of Toungoo when there is a large forest of bamboo. On the West at the distance of about 15,000 "tas" it borders on the inside of the Town of Tandawgyi. Besides the land in these four boundaries there is no other.

(4) Hanthawaddy yauk min.

(5) "Ta" = about 7 cubits.

There is no miscellaneous nor island nor garden cultivation nor any cocoanuts nor toddy palms. As for the fisheries there is the Seingalet In, one; the Apakaing In, one; the tributaries of Kayet five little fisheries, in all there are seven fisheries. In these fisheries each fisherman pays a revenue three tolas of pure silver, and a writer's fee of one "mat" and a reminder fee of one "mat," in the wet lands for each yoke of buffalo there is paid as revenue two tolas of pure silver and a writer's fee of one "mat" and a reminder fee of one "mat." It is the custom to pay it to the revenue writers and Akunwun of Rangoon town. I, the Thugyi, have charge over and collect dues from the heads over the elephants and horses and buffaloes and slaves.

If there is a "Myosa" or "Ywasa" one half of the revenue is paid to him, one half is taken for my own use; if there is no "myosa" or "ywasa" one half is paid to the Viceroy at Rangoon.

Criminal cases of theft, murders and arson are sent to the court at Rangoon Town.

There are no wharfs, nor toll booths, nor fairs, nor watch posts, nor ferries.

THE RECORD OF THE TOWNSHIP OF KAWLIYA, 1164.

The record of the examination of Pinya Eindagyaw, aged 55, born on the seventh day of the week, the Thugyi of Kawliya Township taken on the ninth waxing of Tawthalin 1164, B. E.

These are the boundaries of the Township of Kawliya of which I am in charge; on the East for a distance of about 10,000 "tas" there is the boundary with the lands of Talakwa of An Township so far as the Kyaik-palèkwa pagoda; on the South East the sinuous line of Talanun stream bordering on the Township of Sittang so far as Kamatapaw; on the South for a distance of about 10,000 "tas," it borders on the lands of Hanthawaddy Myoma so far as the Kyaiklabo pagoda which is called Kyaiksagaw; on the South West it borders on the lands of the Township of Tandawgyi; on the West for a distance of about 15,000 "tas," it borders on the lands Zaungtu so far as Kyaikdebaw pagoda; on the North-west, it borders on the lands of Rèn-wè Township; on the North for a distance of about 200,000 "tas," it borders on the lands of Ton Khan, Yè nwè and Rehla so far as the Kyaik-padaw U pagoda; on the North-east it borders on the lands of Shwegyin so far as Nyaunglebin; besides the land included in the boundaries by four and eight there is no other.

These are the revenues paid annually by each household of the Karens and Zabeins who inhabit the Bawni stream, the Pwetamaw stream, the Mayan stream, the Kawliya stream, the Paingta stream, the Putkya stream, the Sat stream and the Kyà stream. The Zabeins pay revenue of ten tolas, for each chieftain (Bo) one tola, each household of the Karens pays nine tolas, for each fisherman at the rate of nine "mus." It is the custom for me, the Thu-

gyi, to collect it and pay it in to the Akunwun and revenue writers in the court of Rangoon Town.

These are the fisheries: Kadok chaung, Pakaing chaung, Malaga chaung, Apakaing chaung, Paingta chaung, Taung Min chaung, Pyuntaza chaung, Dayekaya chaung, Aseingalat chaung, Apakaing, and the Kayetlet fisheries, in all fifteen fisheries. For each workman in the fisheries there is revenue of three tolas of pure silver, and a herald's fee of one "mat."

The kaing cultivators pay on every plot one tola of silver. The workers of the wet paddy land for every yoke of buffaloes pay fifty baskets of paddy. I, the Thugyi, collect it according to custom and if there is a "myosa" pay it over to him, if there is no 'myosa' it is the custom for me to pay it over to the Akunwun and revenue writers.

I, the Thugyi, collect the revenue and tolls of justice from the heads over the elephants and horses, and buffaloes and cattle and slaves. If there is a "Myosa" I pay half of this to him; half, I the Thugyi, take for my own enjoyment. If there is no "myosa" I pay half into the royal court in Rangoon Town.

Within my charge there are 40 houses of the common people,⁽¹⁾ 40 houses of Zabeins and 62 houses of Karens; in all 162 households. As for their sons and daughters and relations there are 187 adult men and 181 adult women, 101 boys and 55 girls—in all 524.

I send in an account in full and brief. That there is nothing remaining not included in the list I vouch on pain of justice.

¹ Athe "people of the common sort under no specific obligation to government, but liable to occasional service" [S].

THE RECORD OF MA U TOWNSHIP 1164.

The deposition of Nga Tat, born on the fourth day of the week, aged 53, Thugyi of Ma U Township included in the thirty-two provinces of Hanthawaddy.

In the year 1142 the Wunshindaw Taung Mingyi gave me letters of appointment as Thugyi, of the Township of Ma-U saying that although it was included in the Thirty-two provinces of Hanthawaddy because there was no one hereditarily in charge of it, it had remained undistinguished and buried in obscurity and was no profit to the King. He charged me to look to the increase of the royal property. In order that the towns and villages might be prosperous and pleasant I fed and supported those who were pleased to come from district towns and villages and other neighbourhoods. For the poor men that arrived I took care that they were not scattered abroad but gathered them in and ruled them. All the causes and government business which arose I reported to the royal court at Rangoon and settled in accordance with the instructions sent me.

These are the boundaries of the land that I have been building up; on the East the east bank of the Pago river so far as the mouth of the Aka wet stream, bordering on the lands of Zwèthabon; on the South East the bank

of the Pago river so far as the mouth of Pago stream; on the South, the south bank of the Mikokyisu stream bordering on the land Syriam; on the South West it borders on the glebe lands of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda; on the West it borders on the lands of Paunglin so far as the Malit stream; on the North West it borders on the lands of Akhayein so far as Kyunbin village; on the North it borders on the lands of Akhayein so far as Egayitbin; on the North East it borders on the lands Lakunpyi, so far as Tawkun pagoda; within the eight boundaries thus demarcated are the lands which I have built up and look after. I have built up the villages of Mata, Kyu Chaung, Malit, Dabein, Tathi, Kawtun, Ma So and Kyi Su. In the year 60 I received the royal seal for my appointment, and have dwelt among my villages with fifty-eight dependants rendering good service according to my dignity.

Within the boundaries of my charge there are no profitable streams or fisheries and no salt boiling. There is only revenue from the land worked by a yoke of buffaloes.

For the payment of Datha Mibāga revenue I have sent in a complete list of all the men and women; boys and girls; there is not a single house or hut remaining.

ဟံသာဝတီမြို့မ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ခု တော်သလင်းလဆန်း ၉ ရက်နေ့။ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့သူကြီးငမိုးဝင်း နံ။ ၄။ အသက် ၅၅ သူ့အစစ်တော်ခံရက်းဘုရား။ ဘုရားသခင်-ဂ-ဝါမြောက်တွင်ဝေဝေစာရိတ္တတော် မူ၍။ ဂုဏ်ပဉ္စတတောင်ထိပ်သို့ ရောက်တော်မူလျှင်။ ဟင်္သာဝတီမြို့နောင်တို့သည်။ ဟင်္သာဝတီမြို့တောင် ထိပ်ကအတောင်ရှက်၍။ ဘုရားသခင်ပူဇော်ကိုမြင်တော်မူလျှင်။ ဂဝံပတိသည်။ အာနန္ဒာထည်၍ သိကြားမင်းကိုယ်တိုင်တည် ဟင်္သာဝတီမြို့နောင်ကို။ ဗျာဒိတ်ပေးတော် မူသည်မှာ။ နောင်ပရိတ်နိဗ္ဗာန် လွန်တော်မူ၍အနှစ် ၉၀၀ ရှိလျှင်။ ထိုဟင်္သာဝတီမြို့နောင်တို့နေသည့်စာရပ်တွင်း၌။ ရာဇတာနီမင်း နေပြည်ဖြစ်လေသည်။ ဟင်္သာဝတီမြို့နောင်တို့ကွက်စားရာအရပ်၌။ နိဂါယိတ်အပိုင်အခြားဖြစ်လေ မည်။ ဘုရားသခင်ဗျာဒိတ်ထားတော်မူသည်။ ဟင်္သာဝတီမြို့နောင်ကွက်စားရာ မြို့နယ်သည်ကား။ အရှေ့ ကိုယ်လျှစ်မြစ်တစ်ဖက်။ မိုင်းရွှန်းမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အရှေ့မြောက်အလား။ မူဆိုင်မူတမောကျောက်ကြီးခဲ တင်းထိန်ခြောင်းအင်ပင်မောင်နှမထီး။ တောင်ငူမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ မြောက်အလား။ မြို့ခြောင်းဝေဝေငတိ ကုန်းဘုရားမူဒေါဘုရားတောင်ငူမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်မြောက်အလား။ တုံးခေါင်တောင်ငူထီး။ သာ ယာဝတီမြို့မ ၃၀ ခြောင်းအခြားသာယာဝတီမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်အလား။ ကတ္တူတင်ခြောင်းဝ ယောဝတီမြစ်လယ်ကြောတတက်နေပြည်မြို့မြေ။ အရှေ့မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်တောင်အလား။ တင်္ဂါလ ဝိသိကုန်းတိန္ဒာပူရမာရဏကင်း။ ပင်လယ်သမုဒ္ဒရာပုသိန်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ တောင်အလား။ ဂင်္ဂါဝတီတ ခိုယာဝတီပင်လယ်သမုဒ္ဒရာအရှေ့တောင်အလား။ ကတပ်ခြောင်းဝငုတ္တမင်းကြီးတိုက်ကုလားမြို့မြေ နှင့်အစပ်။ ၎င်းနယ် ၄ ရပ် ၈ ရပ်အတွင်း။ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့မစာရန်၃၂ မြို့သည်ကား။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၅၁၇ ခုတွင်းသာဂလမင်းကစ၍တည်ထောင်ပြုစုသည်။ ကျောက်မော်မြို့အစပ်မြို့တို့စာရန်မြို့ ကျည်ကုမြို့ ပေါင်း ၄ မြို့။ ပိမလမင်းလက်ထက်။ စစ်တောင်းမြို့။ ဝင်းခဲမြို့။ ဇေယျာမြို့။ အသာမြို့။ ပေါင်း ၄ မြို့။ အဟိမု အရိန္ဒ ရာဇာ မင်း လက်ထက်။ မော်ရိုမြို့။ လကွန်းဗျည်မြို့။ ပေါင်း ၂ မြို့။ မဟိသာ ရာဇာ မင်း လက်ထက်။ အာရိန္ဒမြို့။ မအူမြို့။ ပေါင်း ၂ မြို့။ ဂုတ္တမိက မင်းလက် ထက်။ ရွှေဘိုမြို့။ ရွှေဘိုဝတီမြို့။ မော်ဘိမြို့။ လိုင်မြို့။ ပေါင်း ၄ မြို့။ တိဿရာဇာမင်းလက်ထက်။ တောင်းလင်းမြို့။

၁။ ဗညားဦးလက်ထက်။ ထန်းတောကြီးမြို့တိတွတ်မြို့၊ ဇေဌမြို့၊ ဇောင်းတူမြို့၊ တားထိုင်မြို့၊ တုံခန်
မြို့၊ ရဲခွဲမြို့၊ မေရညရမြို့၊ ကင်ပေါင်မြို့၊ မင်းရဲလှမြို့၊ ပေါင်း၁၀မြို့၊ ရာဇာဓိရာဇ်မင်းလက်ထက်။ ကော
လိသမြို့၊ ဝိုင်းတာမြို့၊ ပေါင်း၂ မြို့၊ မင်းမိစ္ဆာဗညားခေါ်စံရှင်စောလက်ထက်။ ဝင်ပြင်မြို့။ ၁။ မြို့၊ ဓမ္မဇေတိ
မင်းလက်ထက်။ ယွန်ဇလင်မြို့၁မြို့။ သုရှင်တကာရွတ်မိမင်းလက်ထက်။ ဟင်္သာမိုင်းကန်မြို့များကိုပြု
စုသည်။ မင်းပေါင်း ၁၁ ဆက်။ သုရှင်တကာရွတ်မိလက်ထက်ကသည်။ ယခုထိုင်ဟံသာဝတီ၃၂ မြို့
စာရန်သမုတ်ပြဋ္ဌာန်းပါသည်။ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့မနယ်နှင့်။ သံလျှင်မြို့နယ်စစ်တောင်းမြစ်ကသည်
မယမ်းခြောင်းဝ။ ဝင်လေခြောင်း။ ခေမတိအမိုင်ခြောင်း။ အရွှေမစိုခြောင်းဝကသည်။ ပန်အလွဲသံ
လျှက်စွန်းဒဂုံဆံတော်ရှင်။ ဝတ်မြေထီး။ ဧရာဝတီမြစ်လယ်ကြောသံလျှင်မြေ။ ဒလမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ ဟံ
သာဝတီနယ်ကြီးသတ်မှတ်သည်အတွင်း။ သာယွန်မင်းတရားလက်ထက်။ သက္ကမတန်ခိုးတော်တွင်။
မြို့စောင့်မြို့နု။ ထွဲတက်တော်မူသည်။ အစွဲအငမ်းမှာယွန်းရုစို့။ အမြောက်၄ စို့။ သေနတ်၄ စို့။ သူရဲ
၁၂ တပ်။ မြင်း၄ စို့။ နေက်ပလာဆင်၃ ရက်ျိုး။ အောင်မာဇသင်းမိုင်မော၂ စို့။ ကုလား၂ စို့။ ဝါးရင်း
ဒုတ်မြင်း၂ စို့။ အရှိုးစုအကြီးစု။ ရဲလျော့၁ စင်းလမိုင်၁ စို့။ ထို့ကိုထွဲတက်တော်မူ၍ အသီးအသီးလုပ်
မြေနေမြေ။ ပေးရသနားတော်မူ၍။ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့တွင် မြို့စောင့်မြို့နုထား၍။ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့ဝန်အ
ဆက်ဆက်။ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့ကသာတဝတည်း။ လမ်းဦးကင်းဖျား ရာဇဝတ်တော်ရေး။ မြဲမြန်လုံခြုံ
အောင်ခန့်ထားစောင့် နေထမ်းရွတ်ရပါသည်။ ထွဲတက်တော်မူသည်။ အစုအငမ်းသားကိုကို အ
ခြားဝန်စုဝန်ငမ်း။ မခန့်မထားမစီရင်ရ။ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့ဝန်ခန့်ထားရာထမ်းရွတ်ရပါသည်။ နယ်ကြီး
အတွင်း။ ကောဝင်ကင်း။ မိုင်းကျုံးကင်း။ မီးပြကင်း။ နေ့ကင်း။ ကြည့်မြင်တိုင်ကင်း။ ပန်လိုင်ကင်း။
ရန်ကင်းစံရာကင်း။ ကင်းပေါင်း ၇ ကင်းရှိပါသည်။ ဘုရားခမည်းတော် အလောင်းမင်း တရားကြီး
လက်ထက်တော်။ ရန်ကုန်မြို့စောက် လောင်းရှည် ကင်းထားတော်မူပါသည်။ ကင်းပေါင်း ၈ ရှိ
ပါသည်။ ၎င်းကင်း များမှာ။ အစွန် အတုပ်မရှိ။ နေ့မီးပြ ကင်း များမှာ။ တက္ကန်း တပြည် က။
သင်္ဘောသန္တ အဝင်အတွက်။ လမ်းပေါက်မြစ်၍။ သံမြင်ရအောင်။ မီးပြကင်းမှာနေ့ညမီးတောက်
မီးလျှံမပြတ်။ ပြသကြည့်ရှုစောင့်နေရပါသည်။ ဆိပ်တော်သို့ဝင်ရောက်မည်သင်္ဘော သန္တ ဖြစ်လျှင်။
မြစ်ဝ-၇-လံရေကကျောက်ဆူးချွန်သန္တ ငယ်နှင့်မြစ်မာလိန်တောင်မီးပြကင်းနေ့ကင်းများသို့ဝင်ရ
ပါသည်။ သန္တ ရောက်လျှင်ကင်းသားထို့စတုလိုက်၍။ မြို့ဝန်စာရာရှိထိုထံပြောဆိုရပါသည်။ မြို့ဝန်
အရာရှိထိုကရေကြောင်းမြစ်မာလိန်ထည့်၍။ ကင်းသားထို့နှင့်စတုသင်္ဘောကိုကြိုယူသွင်းကွဲရပါ
သည်။ ဆိပ်တော်သို့ရောက်၍ကျောက်ဆူးချွန်လျှင်။ သင်္ဘောမီးကပ္ပိဘန်မာလိန်ထို့တက်၍ ရတနာပုံ
ထိုက်တော်မှာ။ အစစ်အမေးကို ခံစေပြီးမှ။ စကားပြန်ထို့နှင့်။ ရုံးတော်သို့ တက်၍။ အရာရှိထို့ထံ
သင်္ဘောတွင်ပါသည်။ ကပ္ပိဘန်မာလိန်တရင်။ တံတစ်။ ခလားသီ။ အမြောက်လေနုတ်။ ဆေး။ ခဲမီး
ကျောက်အသုံးအဆောင်ရောင်းရန် ကုန်အထည်အလိပ်များကို။ စာရင်းဥပပေးပြီးလျှင်။ ပါသည်အ
မြောက်ဆေး။ ခဲမီးကျောက်များကို ရတနာပုံထိုက်တော်မှာ သွင်းထားပါရသည်။ သင်္ဘောတက်မ
ရွတ်ကြီးများကိုနှုတ်ချွတ်ရပါသည်။ သင်္ဘောကိုလည်း။ အထက်စောင့်အောက်စောင့်ထား၍။ လုံ
ခြုံအောင်စောင့်နေရပါသည်။ ကုန်အထည်အလိပ်များကို။ ထိုက်တော်သို့သွင်းပြီးလျှင်။ စကားပြန်
ရာပြတ်အစစ်အရာရှိထို့နှင့်အရာရှိထို့သင်္ဘောမှာတက်၍။ ရှာရပါသည်။ သင်္ဘောရောက်သီတင်း
ကြားရှိဦးလက်ဆောင်တော်မှာ။ စက်စနားပါဝူဆိုး၁။ မာသရတက်အုပ်၁များကို။ ဗီနှင့်သွတ်၍။
တဆိပ်ခတ်မှတ်ပြီးလျှင်။ ဝါးရင်းဒုတ်မြင်းအစု သားထို့ကိုအပ်၍။ ရွာတဝါးတော် မြတ်အောက်ရှိ
ဆက်ရမြဲဖြစ်ပါသည်။ သင်္ဘောအဝင်လက်ဆောင်များမှာ။ သင်္ဘော ၁ စင်းလျှင်။ မြို့ဝန်ရေဝန်ထို့မှာ
ဝူဆိုးစက်အနားပါ၁စီနှင့်။ မာသရတက်၂ အုပ်စီ။ အကောက်ဝန်မှာဆေးရေဝူဆိုး၁နှင့်။ မာသရ
တက်အုပ်၂။ စစ်ကဲမှာတလာပူဆိုး ၁ မာသရတက်အုပ်၂ စီ။ နာခံမှာတလာပူဆိုး၁နှင့်ဒဂုံပိတ်အုပ်
၁စီ။ မြို့စာရေးမှာတလာပူဆိုး၁နှင့်ဒဂုံပိတ်အုပ်၁စီ။ သင်္ဘောမီးထိုကပေးရပါသည်။ သင်္ဘောအထွံ
ကိုလည်းအစစ်ခံချက် အထိုင်းပေးရိုးရှိပါသည်။ စကားပြန်ထို့မှာ။ ဆေးရေဝူဆိုး၁နှင့်၂ ၎င်းပိတ်
အုပ်၁စီ။ အဝင်အထွက်လက်ဆောင်တွက်ပေးရပါသည်။ လွှဲသင်္ဘောဆိပ်စောင့်ထူထို့မှာ။ ၄၈၃၇။

၂ ကိုပေး၍ သင်္ဘောတွင်စောင့်ထိန်းသူတို့ ဝေယျာစားကြရပါသည်။ ရတနာပုံတိုက်တော်သို့သွင်းထားသည့် ထုံထည်အလိပ်များကိုအရာရှိအစုံအညီနှင့် ရေတွက်မှတ်ထား၍ ၁၀ မိုင် ၁ မိုင်အကောက်တော်ကိုကောက်ယူဆက်သရပါသည်။မိန့်မြီပုလဲအကောင်းအမွန်အတူးအဆန်းဖြစ်လျှင်။ တဆိံတော်ခတ်မှတ်၍။ရွာတဝါးတော်မြတ်အောက်။အကောက်တော်ကိုခံစေရပါသည်။ဟံသာဝတီနယ်ကြီးအတွင်း ရွာဒုဂ်ဘုရားရှင်ဝတ်မြေတော်ပြင်။ အခြားကျောင်း ဘုရားဝတ်မိုး ဝတ်မြေကျောက်စာသမိုင်းမထွေမရှိပါ။ ရွာဒုဂ်ဝတ်မြေအတွင်းအစွတ်အမြောက်လုပ်သူတို့မှာ ချီးတော်ကအခွန်ဝန် အခွန်စာရေးတို့ ဝတ်တော်မြေတိုင်းခွါအကြီးတို့ကိုဆင့်ဆို၍။ အထိုးအခွန်ကိုအသီးတိုရှည်အပင်နိမ့်မြင့်အခွန်တော်ကိုနှိုးဆော်သိမ်းခံ၍။ဘုရားရှင်တော်မှာတုံးအင်းက တောသစ်စေးရွာမကောင်း။ ဟောင်းနှမ်းပျက်ပြားသည်များကို။ ပြင်ဆင်ရန်ခွါအကြီးမြေတိုင်းတို့နှင့်အစုံအညီရှိန်ပေး၍။ဘုရားရှင်မှာပြင်ဆင်လိုက်ဆောင်ပါရသည်။မင်းမြေနယ် အတွင်းလုပ်သည်။ကွဲရှည်များမှာ။ ကွဲတရှည်လျှင်းအခွန်စပါး၅ဝကျီတော်သို့ရှင်သွင်းရပါသည်။အင်းတိုင်ထုံးချောင်းလုပ်သူတို့မှာ။ လုပ်လူတကိုယ်လျှင်အခွန်မရှိ။ ကရင်တို့မှာတကိုယ်လျှင် ခွန်မငွေငါးကျိပ်၇၅၀၀ပဲဆောင်း၇၅၀၀ပဲဆက်သရပါသည်။ အထိန်းတို့မှာအထိန်း တကိုယ်လျှင်အခွန်မငွေ၁ဝ ပိဒိကဲ ၂ ဆောင် ၂ နှင့်ဆက်သွင်းရပါသည်။ဆားချက်လူတို့မှာ။ ဆားတထိုလျှင်အခွန်တော်ငွေ၁ဆက်သရပါသည်။ ကိုင်းလုပ်လူတို့မှာ။အသီးတို့ရှည်အပင်နိမ့်မြင့်အရာရှိအစုံအညီရေစစ်သိမ်းခံ၍။ ရွာတဝါးတော်မြတ်အောက်နန်းမတော် အရှင်မိဖုရားမှာဆက်သွင်းရပါကြောင်း ကိုရွာတဝါးတော်မြတ်အောက် ရှိမိုးသံတော်ဦးတင်ပါသည်ဘုရား။

ကောလိယမြို့ ၄၅ ခုစပ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၄၅ခု၊ပြာသိုလ်လပြည့်ကျော် ၆ ရက်နေ့အခါတော်အတိုင်း။ ဟံသာဝတီ၃၂ မြို့ရန်ကုန်သံလျှင်နယ်ကြီးအဝင်ကောလိယမြို့သူကြီးငလွတ်နံ၅၅အသက်၅ဝသူကိုသော်။ဆိုသည်။ ကောလိယမြို့ကျွန်တော်ထိုးငစည်။ ဟံသာဝတီရောက် မင်းလက်ထက် ကြီးမိုးစီရင်သည်။ မရှိလျှင်ကျွန်တော်ထဝနီတထွေငန္တယ်ကြီးမိုးစီရင်သည်။တထွေမရှိလျှင်။ကျွန်တော်အသောင်းမင်းတရားကြီးရွာလက်ထက်တော်ကသည်။ နောင်တော်မင်းတရားကြီး။ နောင်တော်ဆင်မြို့ရှင်ဘုရားရွာလက်ထက်တော်ထိုင်းကြီး မိုးအုပ်ချုပ်စီရင်သည်။ ကောလိယမြို့နယ်သည်။ အရွှေကိုလားသော်။ တာ၁ဝဝဝဝခန့်ကွာ။တန်မြီတလ နွဲ့မြေနှင့်အစပ်။တောင်ကိုလားသော်။တာ ၁ဝဝဝဝ ကွာဝေါဘုရားထိ။တကိုးမြို့မြေနှင့်အစပ်။အနောက်ကို လားသော်တာ ၁၅ဝဝဝ ကွာ။ထန်းတောကြီးမြို့မြေနှင့်အစပ်။မြောက်ကိုလားသော်။တာ ၂ဝဝဝဝကွာဝါးတောကြီးတောင်ငူအဝင်တုံခန့်ရဲ့ နွဲ့မြေနှင့်အစပ်။သည်နယ် ၄ ရပ်အခြားမြေမရှိ။ ကိုင်းကျွန်းငယ်ဟည်အုန်းထမ်းမရှိ။ အင်းမှာကမိန်ကလက်အင်း၁။ အပင်ကိုင်းအင်း၁။ကရင်လက်တက်အင်းငယ်၅။ပေါင်းရအင်းရှိပါသည်။ ၎င်းအင်းမှာငါးလုပ်လူ၁လျှင်အခွန်မရှိနိဉ်။ရေးဘံ။အဆော်ဘံ။အစွတ်လယ်လုပ်ကွဲတရှည်လျှင်။အခွန်မရှိနိဉ်။ရေးဘံ။အဆော်ဘံ။ရန်ကုန်မြို့အခွန်။အခွန်စာရေးတို့သို့ပေးရိုးရှိပါသည်။ အပေါ်ဝန်အကောက်အစား။ ဆင်သေခြင်းမတ်။ကွဲဝင်ခြင်းဝင်။ကျွန်ဝင်ခြင်းဝင်များကိုကျွန်တော်မြို့သူကြီးတို့က။ စီရင်သိမ်းခံသည်။ မြို့စားရွာစားရှိလျှင်။ ဆိုင်ရာမြို့စားရွာစားသို့ တဝက်ပေးရသည်။ တဝက်ကိုကျွန်တော်တို့စားထူသည်။မြို့စားရွာစားမရှိလျှင် ရန်ကုန်မြို့ဝန်သို့ တဝက်ပေးရသည်။ မိုးသေးမီးပွားရာဇဝတ်နှင့်စပ်ဆိုင်သည်အမှုများကိုရန်ကုန်မြို့ရုံးသို့ပို့ဆက်ရသည်။ဆိပ်တည်းပွဲကင်းကုတို့မရှိထွက်ဆိုသည်။

ကောလိယမြို့ ၆၄ ခုစပ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ခု၊ တော်သလင်းလဆန်း ၉ရက်နေ့။ ကောလိယမြို့တံဆိပ်တော်ရသူကြီး ဗညားတိန္ဒာကျော်နံဝ။အသက်၅၅နှစ်သူကိုစစ်မေးသော်။ချက်။ ကျွန်တော်ကြီးမိုးသည်။ ကောလိ

ယမြို့နယ်သည်။ အရှေ့ကိုလားသော်။ တာ ၁၀၀၀၀ အနိမြို့တလွှာမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ ကျွတ်လဲစွါဘု
 ရားထိ။ အရှေ့တောင်ကိုလားသော်။ တလွှာမြေခြားခြားကောင်ကောင်စင်းစင်း။ စစ်တောင်းမြို့မြေ
 နှင့်အစပ်။ ကမာတပေါထိ။ တောင်ကိုလားသော်။ တာ ၁၀၀၀၀ ကွာ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့မြေနှင့်အစပ်။
 ကျွတ်စကောဆိုသည်။ ကျွတ်လပိုဘုရားထိ။ အနောက်တောင်ကိုလားသော်။ ထန်းတောကြီးမြို့မြေ
 နှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်ကိုလားသော်။ ၁၅၀၀၀ ကွာ။ စောင်တူမြို့မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ ကျွတ်ဒေပေါဘုရားထိ။
 အနောက်မြောက်ကိုလားသော်။ ရဲခွဲမြို့မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ မြောက်ကိုလားသော်။ တာ ၂၀၀၀၀ ကွာ။ ဝါး
 တောကြီးတုံခန်း။ ရဲခွဲ။ ရဲလှမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ ကျွတ်တောဦးဘုရားထိ။ အရှေ့မြောက်ကိုလားသော်။ ရွာ
 ကျင်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ ညောင်လေးပင်ထိ။ နယ် ၄ ရပ်။ ၈ ရပ်သတ်မှတ်သည်။ အတွင်း အချားငြေမရှိ။
 ဥယျာဉ်အုန်းထန်းမရှိ။ ကောလိယမြို့နယ်တွင်။ တောနီခြောင်း။ ပွဲတမောခြောင်း။ မယမ်းခြောင်း။
 ကောလိယခြောင်း။ ပိုင်းတာခြောင်း။ ပွတ်ကျားခြောင်း။ ဆပ်ခြောင်း။ ကုားခြောင်း။ မုားတင်နေထိုင်
 သည်။ ကရင်ဇာမိန့်တို့မှာတစ်လျှင်တစ်အိမ်ကို။ ဇာမိန့်ခွန်မာပိ။ ပိုးဆောင်ဝန်ရေခို။ ကရင်တစ်အိမ်လျှင်
 ခွန်မငြေ။ ပိုက်ဆောင်ဝန်ရေ။ မိငြေ။ ကျန်တော်မြို့သူကြီးတို့က။ နှိုးဆော်တောင်းခံ၍။ ရန်ကုန်မြို့ရိုး
 တော်မှာအခွန်ဝန် အခွန်စာရေးတို့ထံ ပေးရိုးရှိပါသည်။ အင်းမှာ ကတုတ်ခြောင်းအင်း။ ပန်း
 ခြောင်းအင်း။ မာလကာခြောင်းအင်း။ အပက်င်းခြောင်းအင်း။ ပိုင်းတာခြောင်းအင်း။ တောင်မင်း
 ခြောင်းအင်း။ ပြန်တဆာခြောင်းအင်း။ ရယ်ခရာခြောင်းအင်း။ အမိန့်ကလပ်အင်း။ အပက်င်းအင်း။
 ကရက်လက်အင်း။ နှင်းအင်းပေါင်း ၁၅ ရှိပါသည်။ ၎င်းအင်းမှာလုပ်သလျှင်။ ခွန်ခွန်ခိုရောက်
 ဆေးဝါးကိုင်းလုပ်သူတို့မှာ။ ကိုင်း ၁ လျှင်ခွန်မငွေပိ။ အစွတ်ထယ်လုပ်ကွာရှည်လျှင်စပါး ၅၀။
 ကျန်တော်မြို့သူကြီးကရှေးထုံးစံရှိသည်အတိုင်း။ နှိုးဆော်ကောက်ခံ၍။ မြို့စားရှိလျှင်မြို့စားမှာပေး
 ရှိန်ဆောင် ရွတ်ရပါသည်။ မြို့စားမရှိလျှင်အခွန်ဝန်အခွန်စာရေးတို့ထံပေးရိုးရှိပါသည်။ အပေါ်ဝန်
 အကောက်အစားတရားကွမ်းထိုး။ ဆင်သေခြင်းပါ။ ကွပ်ဝင်နွားဝင်းကျန်ဝင်ခြင်းဝင်ဗျားကို။ ကျန်
 တော်မြို့သူကြီးက။ စီရင်သိမ်းခံ၍။ မြို့စားရှိလျှင်မြို့စားထံ တဝက်ပေးရပါသည်။ တဝက်ကိုကျန်
 တော်မြို့သူကြီးစားယူပါသည်။ မြို့စားမရှိလျှင် ရန် ကုန်မြို့ရိုးတော်မှာ တဝက်ကိုပေးရှိရပါသည်။
 ကျန်တော်စီရင်စုနယ်ရှိအသည်အိမ် ၄၀။ ဇာမိန့်အိမ် ၄၀။ ကရင်အိမ် ၆၅။ ဥရုအိမ် ၄၂။ သားထိုး
 ဆွေသားမျိုးသားအတိုးအပွားပါဦးရေ။ ကျားကြီး ၁၈၇။ မကြီး ၁၈၁။ ကျားငယ် ၁၀၁။ မငယ်
 ၅၅။ ၄၉၅။ ၄ ရှိသည်ကိုစာရင်းကျယ်။ စာရင်းချုပ်ရေးသားတင်ဆက်ပါသည်။ ကျန်တော်တင်
 ဆက်သည်။ ကျန်တော်တင်ဆက်သည်စာရင်းခြင်းကျင်းကျန်လျှင်ရာဇဝတ်တော်ကိုခံပါမည်။

မအူမြို့ ၁၁၆၄ ခုစစ်တမ်း။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၄ ခုဝါခေါင်လဆန်း ၅ ရက်နေ့တွင်။ ဟံသာဝတီ ၃၂ မြို့အဝင်။ မအူမြို့သူကြီး
 တော် ၄။ အသက် ၅၃ နှစ်သူ။ ချက်။ မအူမြို့သည်။ ဟံသာဝတီ ၃၂ မြို့အဝင် ဖြစ်လျက်။
 မိုးဆက်ရာခံမရှိပျားပြားတိမ်မြုတ်နေ၍စီးပွားတော်မဖြစ်ရှိသည်ကို။ အကြီးစီး ပွားတော် ဖြစ်ပွား
 အောင် ပြုစု ရမည်။ ၄၉ ခုနှစ် ဝန်ရှင် တော် တောင် မင်းကြီးက မြို့သူကြီး အရာစာ ခွန်တော်
 ပေးအပ်လျှင်။ မြို့ရွာစီကားသာယာအောင်။ တရပ်တကြေးအဝေးမြို့ရွာက။ ပြင်ပိုက်လာရောက်သူ
 တို့ကိုအစားအသောက်ထောက်မပေးကမ်း၍။ မစယ်သွင်းပြုစုပါသည်။ ဝင်နေလာရောက်သည်
 ဆင်းရဲသားကျန်တော်မျိုးတို့ကိုလည်း မစည်မလွင့်စေရ။ ထိန်းသိမ်းအုပ်ချုပ်၍။ အရှင်ရေးမင်းမူ
 တော်ပေါ်ထွက်သမျှကို။ ရန်ကုန်မြို့ရိုးတော်က ဆင့်ဆိုခန့်ထားရာ။ နာခံထမ်းရွက်ရပါသည်။ ကျန်
 တော်ပြုစုသည်နယ်မြေရပ်သည်။ အရှေ့ကိုလားသော်ပကိုးမြစ်အရှေ့တက်အကွက်ချောင်းငါးငါးထိ။
 ဖွဲ့သဘုံမြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အရှေ့တောင်ကိုလားသော်ပကိုးမြစ်တထက်တားကူးချောင်းငါးထိ။ တောင်ကို
 လားသော်။ မီးခိုးကြီးစုခြောင်းတောင်တက်။ ထိုလျှင်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်တောင်ကိုလားသော်။
 ရွာမုန်ဘုရားဝတ်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အနောက်ကိုလားသော်လစ်ချောင်းထိ။ တောင်လင်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အ

နောက်မြောက်ကိုလားသော် ကျွန်ုပ်ပင်ရွာအထိ။ အခရိန်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ မြောက်ကိုလားသော်အေက
ရပ်ပင်ထိ။ အခရိန်မြေနှင့်အစပ်။ အရှေ့မြောက်ကိုလားသော်တောစွန်ဘုရားထိ။ လက်နန်းစုည်မြေနှင့်
အစပ်။ နယ်-ဂ-ရပ်သတ်မှတ်သည်အတွင်းကျွန်တော်ပြုစုစီရင်သည်။ မတရွာ။ ကြွေချောင်းရွာ။ မလစ်
ရွာ။ ဒါးပိန်ရွာ။ တာသီရွာ။ ကောတွန်းရွာ။ မဇိရွာ။ ကျီစုရွာ။ ဗျားကိုပြုစု၍ ၆၀ ပြည့်နှစ်တံဆိပ်တော်ခံ
ယူပြီးလျှင် အမှုတော်ကောင်းရာ ကြွေရွာနေထိုင်သားလူ ၅၀ နှင့် အမှုတော်ကောင်းလိုက်ထမ်း
ပါရသည်။ ကျွန်တော်စီရင်စုနယ်အတွင်း။ ထိုးတော်ခွန်တော်ရ။ မြစ်ဝှားသည်ချောင်းအင်း။ ဆား
ချင်းမရှိပါ။ ကျွန်ုပ်သည်အမှုတော်သာရှိပါသည်။ ဘုရားမြေကျောင်းမြေမရှိ။ ဒေသိတာဂရွန်တော်
ဆက်သွင်းရန်ပေးသည်အိမ်ခြေကျားကြီးမကြီး။ ကျားငယ်။ မငယ်ရှိသည်ဗျားကိုတအိမ်တသို့မ
ကြွင်းကျန်စေရ။ ကုန်စင်အောင်ဆက်သပါသည်ဘုရား။

LEGENDARY HISTORY REGARDING THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME MYAUK-U OR MRAUK-U (Present Myohoung in Arakan).

In order to arrive at a clear understanding of the events that led to the first naming of the place "Mrauk-U" which gave its name to the present city it is necessary for us to go back nearly five centuries from the time Min Saw Mwan built the city in 1430 A.D. Tsu-la-taing-tsan-dra (951-957 A.D.) the ninth king of Wesali was shipwrecked off cape Negris on his return from Yunan. Before undertaking this dangerous journey he left his ring with his queen Sandadevi with an injunction that if he did not return the country was to be governed by a person on whose finger the ring fitted. When the news of the king's unfortunate death reached Wesali the queen assembled all the ministers of state and informed them of the king's last command in regard to the government of the country. By means of the ring a systematic search for a suitable person was made. But as nobody could be found to suit the much coveted throne, the ministers in their despair had to ransack the outlying districts in the confines of the kingdom which were peopled by the wild hill tribes such as the Chins, Mros, Thets and the Phys. Eventually they came upon two Mro brothers and a son of the younger brother searching for fish in the river. When the ring was tried on, to the great surprise of the ministers, it fitted all three of them. So they were all brought into the royal city. The elder brother A-Mya-Thu was then crowned king (957-964 A.D.) and the younger became the crown prince.

Everything went on smoothly for a time until one day, by quite an accident, the king became aware of the love intrigue that existed between the queen and his brother. Being greatly disturbed in mind by the fear of assassination he resolved to murder the Crown Prince. So one favourable night pretending to be fast asleep by the side of his consort he suddenly sat up in bed and gave vent to a terrific yell. Sanda-devi woke up with a start and on questioning him the reason of his strange conduct she was told that in a dream his household gods, who felt themselves shamefully neglected and outraged by his sudden change of fortune, threatened him with the most horrible

death. In fact they actually rehearsed in the dream the fate he was shortly to undergo in real life. He then got up and dressed himself saying that he was determined to perform the usual sacrifices that very night.

He forthwith summoned his brother to whom he related the whole dream, informing him at the same time his resolve to carry out the wish of the gods. So according to the custom of his ancestors he got together a white bull and a white buffalo. He told his younger brother to lead the animals out of the city and that he would follow with all articles necessary for the ceremonial. When they came to a very lonely and unfrequented spot A-Mya-Thu the king treacherously shot his brother with a poisoned arrow killing him on the spot. When day broke he returned to the palace in a profusion of tears telling the astonished courtiers that his brother had met with an unfortunate accident which proved fatal. The monarch was a consummate actor. His grief was so well simulated that it took in everybody except one solitary person, his nephew Pai-Phyu,—the son of the deceased. This shrewd young man knew all about his father's illicit passion. Piecing together the various facts of the case he arrived at the true conclusion—*fratricide*. Warned by this act of treachery on the part of his uncle who was quite capable of fixing on him as the object of further revenge, he silently withdrew from the attractions of the court, resolved to lead the life of a hunter in the unknown solitude of some distant forest.

Just about this time the Phyus who lived in the mountainous regions lying to the north east of the kingdom heard of the death of Tsu-la-taing-tsan-dra and of the accession to the throne of a Mro chief who wedded the widowed queen. They thought it was the most opportune moment for an invasion. Headed by a very powerful chief an army of 90,000 soldiers descended the heights, on conquest bent. When this mighty host reached the eastern bank of the Lemro river (about four or five miles from the present city Myohoung) a general halt was ordered with the object of reconnoitring the country and devising means for crossing the stream. Meanwhile the people of Wesali were quite ignorant of the presence of so dangerous an enemy. There was nothing to disturb the harmony of their simple lives. But prince Pai-Phyu in his new rôle of hunter while tracking game along the western bank of the stream at which the enemy halted, suddenly saw a great concourse of people on the opposite bank. After a short time he became convinced that they were some enemy. Instead of running away and giving the alarm he boldly decided to remain and to act single-handed. He got hold of a small dug-out and crossing over to the enemy related to their chief of the story of the king's treachery and his own misfortunes. He moreover swore that the sole object of his life was revenge and that as the opportunity for its fulfilment had then arrived he would undertake to convey the whole army across the river and lead them on to the capital (Wesali) and to certain victory. Naturally the Phyus were greatly delighted at this unexpected piece of good fortune. They implicitly believed the young prince and because of his topographical knowledge left everything in his hands.

The work of transporting the army then commenced in real earnest. The boat was small—only four or five at a time could be conveyed across. There

were no others available. Each time the precious cargo reached the opposite bank the prince led them to a lonely spot and murdered them, for he was quite a gaint in strength and size. These silent murders went on for the space of seven days and seven nights. On the morning of the eighth day the Phyu chief seeing that more than three fourths of his army had crossed over, ascended a high hill to see what his men were doing on the other side. To his great surprise he only saw the corpses piled up in innumerable heaps. For a moment he was paralysed. He did not know what to do at first. When calm reason asserted its sway, he decided to abandon his scheme of conquest and run for dear life. He called together his men and told them everything, representing that it was far wiser to flee to the security of their mountain homes than to face so dangerous and crafty an enemy. Then they ran. Meanwhile prince Pai-Phyu hastily gathered together all the Arakanese who lived in the adjoining districts. The Phyus were chased and captured with all their effects. They were then brought to the place where the present city (Mrauk-U or Myohoung) stands and were all put to the sword. So in commemoration of this event and because it was the spot on which his first great undertaking was crowned with success prince Pai-Phyu named the place "Mrauk-U" (မြောက်ဦး). "Mrauk" (မြောက်) means accomplishment and "U" (ဦး) means first. In Arakan the old pronunciation is still preserved in spite of the corrupted form (မျောက်ဦး) (Myauk-U) that crept in with the Burmese conquest in 1782. To explain this later perversion a very silly story was invented in later times. A female monkey is supposed to have mated with a peacock causing the former to lay an egg on the spot which afterwards on that account came to be known as "Myauk-U." "Myauk" (မျောက်) being a monkey and "U" (ဦး) an egg,—a version obviously absurd and wholly in keeping with the best traditions of legendary Greece and Rome.

SAN SHWE BU.

THE STORY OF MAHAMUNI.

The great outstanding feature in the history of Arakan is the account of Buddha's sojourn in this country and of his supervision over the casting of his image. The story of His seven days' visit with five hundred Rahandas—his lengthy discourse pregnant with prophesy delivered on the top of the hill opposite the town of Kyauktaw—His journey into the city of Dymnyawaddi at the request of king Sanda Thurya—the casting of the image by men and gods, have been very clearly set forth by the able researches of the late Dr. Forchammer and need hardly be mentioned again in the present sketch. The Mahamuni Tradition is the oldest of the kind we have. It permeates the whole religious history of Arakan and the images that at present sanctify a thousand temples and pagodas in this country are the replicas of the first great and only faithful copy of the Master.

Interesting as all these facts may appear there is however one great flaw which defies any attempt at reasonable explanation. King Sanda Thurya ascended the throne of Arakan in 146 A. D.—all available records are pretty well clear on this point. If we take 483 B. C. as the date of Buddha's death there is a very large gap of over six hundred years between the two events, viz:—his sojourn in Arakan and his death at Kusinara. This is a very big thing to explain away and judging from the extreme paucity of documents that treat of those far-away days I am inclined to think that the problem is one likely to be added to the long list of unsolved riddles of the universe. It is true books belonging to this country have a fatal defect, that they represent facts and beliefs at the time they were written, or acquired the form in which we now find them, without much reference to facts at the time at which they are supposed to have happened. Besides this Burmese books especially bear unmistakable signs of being treated, that is to say, they often take up an important event, enlarge upon it, and then relate how it was prophesied—generally by Buddha—many centuries before.

In spite of these adverse peculiarities of the East I entirely agree with the learned Doctor that the Mahamuni Tradition is not an after-thought. It is genuinely old and was implicitly believed in by successive generations that came after it. Kings of Arakan, even after they had shifted their capitals to various other places, always recognised it as a sacred duty to visit it from time to time and generally made it the occasion for great religious feasts of charity. In such cases they invariably left some votive offering, may be a small shrine or an image, as a memento of their distinguished visit. On the other hand it is not my purpose here to try and reconcile this great discrepancy in time as I am convinced of the utter futility of the task. The very fact that neither Buddha nor any of his five hundred Rahandas who accompanied him into Arakan ever made mention of this unique event in the many subsequent discourses delivered in India is sufficient to tempt one to lay down the pen so far as this point is concerned.

My scheme in the present work is simply to trace the history of this famous image from the time of its installation on a small hill close to the ancient city of Dynnyawaddi till it was finally carried away to Mandalay by Bodawpaya of Burma. So this is really a continuation of the story begun by Forchhammer but in which I propose dealing with principal events only. After the sacred image was finished and suitably installed it was allowed to remain undisturbed for a period of over nine centuries. During that time it became the religious centre of the kingdom and all its neighbouring states. Its fame spread far and wide and it so worked on the envy of the Burmans that much of the early wars between these two people were actuated by the sole desire on the part of Burmese kings to remove the image into their country.*

* As an instance of this it may here be mentioned that in the early years of the 11th century Anorahta-min-zaw of Pagan or Pagan invaded Arakan with the intention of carrying away this image. Luckily then through some mysterious cause he was compelled to abandon the project.

In 1078 A. D. Min Bhi-lu of Arakan was killed by a noble who usurped the throne. Min Re-baya the heir apparent fled with his family and took shelter at the court of Kyansit-tha of Pagan. The fugitive princes remained in exile for twenty five years during which time a son was born to Min Re-baya and is known in history as Let-ya-min-nan. It is true that Kyan-sittha promised to restore the royal fugitive to the Arakanese throne but the lack of suitable opportunity prevented that monarch from redeeming his promise. On the death of Min Re-baya Alaung-si-thu who had already succeeded his grandfather determined to place Let-ya-min-nan on the throne of Arakan. To carry out this object he sent 100,000 Pyus and an equal number of Talaings both by land and sea into Arakan. There was some show of stubborn resistance at first which the more disciplined troops of Burma gradually but surely overcame. Thus Let-ya-min-nan came unto his own in 1103 A. D. and as the Pyus were instrumental in bringing this about he is also known to the Arakanese as ဂျောဝ်ပုသိ (the king created by the 100,000 Pyus). When these soldiers had accomplished their task and just on the eve of their departure for Burma they visited the shrine of Mahamuni. There they found it so richly stored with gems and gold that overcoming all religious scruples they began to despoil the temple of all its vast wealth. From the image itself the Pyus scooped out the greater portion of the back, the Talaings cut off the whole right leg and carried away these treasures into their country—a distinct fulfilment of Gotama's dicta.

When Let-ya-min-nan came to Arakan the capital was Ping-tsa. On his astrologers advising him that the city was no longer fit for occupation because all its good fortune had departed, he founded the new city of Parin. Fifty years after this Da-tha-raza ascended the throne. The new king was powerful and just and the country enjoyed general peace and prosperity. Following the example of all pious kings who went before him he decided to visit Mahamuni. His ministers were sent in advance to make the necessary preparations for his stay there. But they returned with the information that the temple could not be found. He then entrusted these men with his personal jewels and instructed them to give away as reward to any person or persons who could direct them to the sacred spot. After much trouble and by the assistance of two Mros they found the place—the men being rewarded as ordered by the king. When the news of the discovery reached the royal ears he immediately set out for the place with his entire court. The image was found in the ground buried up to the neck. The right leg and the greater part of the back were missing. The shrine was completely destroyed by fire. The king at once saw the exposed nature of the place. He knew that its general isolation among the hills was the too frequent cause of the shrine being desecrated by the wild hill tribes who made periodic visits of plunder into these parts. He therefore conveyed the image by water into the ancient city of Dinnyawaddy. The chronicles tell us that invitations were then issued to all the neighbouring kings and princes, to visit Arakan and share with him the supreme merit to be acquired by undertaking the entire repairs of the most sacred image and shrine. The gathering of ruling princes was a representative one. First they repaired the image itself

by supplying the missing parts. Then they erected the shrine on which were lavished all the skill, energy and resources they could command. In the building of the surrounding walls the work was proportionately divided between the different races that were present. Thus some were asked to carry out the work on the east of the shrine, some to the south and so on. The temple and the walls were decorated with exquisite carving. The latter contained human figures representing all the races of the earth. There is no doubt about it that this second building of Mahamuni was a great historic event. What little is left of it at the present day amply proves it. The spot selected was a small hill at the north east corner of the city. The nine kutis of treasure left buried by king Sanda Thurya was also unearthed, removed and buried again at the northern end of this hill. The stone slab placed on the mouth of the pit was so immense that a thousand men, say the chronicles, would not even be sufficient to shift it from the place. The whole thing was finished in seventy-one days.

Several races undertook to visit the temple once in every three months for the purpose of carrying out such minor repairs as were considered necessary from time to time. But some of the tributary tribes were given definite work to perform, and were required to always leave behind certain persons to guard the place. The details of the allotment of such specific duties were also recorded in stone tablets at the four cardinal points. These records no longer exist in their usual places though I am told they were there until quite recently by an authority of no mean repute.

In the closing scene of its variegated history Bodawpaya of Burma comes in—a fit character for a fit occasion. After his final conquest and so-called pacification "*solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant*" he directed the famous image to be conveyed into Burma. This was accomplished in the year 1785 A. D. The excess of patriotic fervour led some people a few years ago to declare that the real image was lost in the creek close to the site in the course of its removal and that the soldiers fearing the king's wrath took away a substitute. Attractive as this version may appear to us Arakanese, everything that has any bearing on the history of this country proclaims the image that now adorns the Arakan pagoda at Mandalay to be the genuine one.

It will be seen that the present account deals with the principal events only. But it must not be supposed that during the long interval between these epochs the image and the shrine were allowed to remain in peace. The frontier tribes such as the Chins, the Mros and the Sâks periodically descended from their mountain homes and harassed the kingdom whenever it was known that the ruler of the country was weak or incapable. On such occasions they always made it a point to visit the shrine and after taking away all the riches it contained they invariably set fire to it. Whenever this happened the then reigning king would forthwith rebuild it and make good the loss. In the chronicles this occurs with painful regularity.

What seems to me to be rather a curious fact is that even at the time of Da-tha-raza, towards the middle of the 12th century, this well-known temple and image could not be easily found. At the present day none of us have any idea of the original site though the chronicles describe the place pretty

clearly. I think there are two reasons to account for this. In the first the names of hills and creeks in familiar use in those days are no longer employed now; and the daily occupation of all our time in western education and pursuits has so alienated our interests that it has become almost impossible for us to identify the old names with the present ones. Secondly the abundant rainfall so favours the rapid growth of vegetation that a few years of neglect is sufficient to entirely cover up any structure with dense jungle. But whatever the true reason may be it would be tremendously worth our while to discover this spot as there is no knowing what interesting archaeological finds we may come across.

SAN SHWE BU.

JOURNAL OF THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY, 1915-16.

This contains an edition in Roman characters of *Nāmarūpasamāsa*, which is one of the nine mediæval compendia of Abhidhamma, entitled Let-than or little finger manuals in Burma. It is known in Burma as *Khemappa-karaṇa*. This makes the fifth that the Society have published. It is to be hoped that all the nine manuals would soon be edited and the work of translation soon follow. We are glad to learn that Mr. S. Z. Aung, who with Mrs. Rhys Davids, has done so much for Abhidhamma, is undertaking the translation of one of them viz: *Abhidhammāvatāra*. Abhidhamma in the original is too difficult to be appreciated generally.

But what makes the Journal interesting is an article on the Buddhist Philosophy of Relations or mutually conditioned phenomena by Ledi Sadaw, translated by Mr. Aung. The article is an able view of the Buddhist tradition, as maintained at present in Burma. The Sadaw has, indeed, largely based it on the *Paṭṭhāna*, the book on Relations, which is the most important of the Abhidhamma books. The article is thus of value in preparing the student for a study of that book. Buddhists hold that in any relation a thing which, as a causal term, relates itself to another must be one of the four:—(a) a mental fact (b) a physical fact (c) a concept (d) Nibbāna; and that both the correlates in a relation are themselves impermanent and cannot maintain a constant relation, i. e., relations themselves are not permanent in the way that concepts of relations are.

There are two important words in Pali for *relation*:—*Paccaya* and *paṭṭhāna*. Etymologically, *paccaya* is that event by which a fruit or effect derived from itself occurs; *paṭṭhāna* is from the prefix *pa* and *ṭhāna*. *Ṭhāna* is literally a station and may be defined as that thing in which, or that event by which, the fruit or effect is established. Hence it means a cause producing an effect. The prefix *pa* is used in the sense of *padhāna*—predominant. *Paṭṭhāna* thus means the predominant cause and the book *Paṭṭhāna* treats of principal causes only. Moreover, *paṭṭhāna* implies that the relation, which is non-transitive, is between an invariable cause and a direct, inevitable effect. *Paccaya*, on the other hand, includes not only non-transitive relations to direct effects but also transitive relations to indirect effects. The relation of

parents to their direct offspring illustrates that of *paṭṭhāna*; and the relation of the same parents to their grand-children represents that of *paccaya*. *Paccaya* is further explained as *upakāraka*, rendering service, as when a mother renders service to her child by ministering to its wants, etc.

There are two methods of relation in Buddhism (a) law of happening through a cause (*paṭicca-samuppādanaya*); (b) the method of correlation (*paṭṭhāna-naya*). The Causal Genesis (e. g. from ignorance volitions arise) is an illustration of the first method. But when a thing as condition, object, etc., relates itself to another, we get an illustration of the second method. The first method is essential to self-culture e. g. for penetration of the Real or attainment of *Nibbāna* but the second is necessary if one would preach to others what one has attained. The Buddha attained Buddhahood by the first and preached his Doctrine by the second method.

So much is the substance of what Ledi Sadaw has written by way of preface to the 24 modes of principal causal relations treated in Buddhist philosophy. These are worthy of the best attention, as they reveal many points of resemblance with modern European philosophy. One may understand the value of Relations in Buddhism when the Buddhist says that there is only one thing which is independent of relations and that is *Nibbāna*, the Absolute. All factors of conscious or unconscious existence are related. Thus even the mind of spiritual beings in the immaterial world is related, being seemingly without relation so long as the force that has sent it through the immaterial world—like an arrow in its flight—has not spent itself.

—Editor.

PICTORIAL REPRESENTATION OF JĀTĀKAS IN BURMA,—ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT 1912-13.

BY CHAS. DUROISELLE.

The popularity of the superb tales, called *Jātakas* in the original Pali is well-known and there are few writers on Indian literature in the Buddhist Age who have not dwelt on the different aspects of the subject—their age, source, importance, etc. It may now be accepted as an established fact that they originated in India in the third century B. C. as evidence of the religious fervour that produced Buddhism in India. They have thus come to acquire a religious significance which renders them unique among stories of the world. They not only give us a picture of the beliefs, morals and life of the people of that time but have continued to exercise their fascinating power over the minds of the people who have embraced Buddhism. Even at present we find that they form part and parcel of the religious education of the Burman Buddhist. No better proof of their popularity can be given than the fact that even the monks of Burma, admittedly the best scholars in *Abhidhamma* philosophy have judged it proper to study them. In spite of the centuries that have passed by they retain the same influence that moved the people that first told them. Just as in the third century B. C. the people

testified to their excessive zeal by making representations of scenes from them, so in Burma, when Buddhism was introduced into Pagan in the eleventh century A. D. the people showed their zeal by building pagodas, in which they made representations of Jātaka Scenes. This is striking and should not be overlooked. It is a long stretch of time from the 3rd century B. C. to the eleventh century A. D. Yet the same religion has swayed the minds of two different nations in the same way. What importance these Jātaka representations have on questions of archæology, history, literature and religion in India in the third century B. C. has been ably shown by Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India*. We are therefore justified in entertaining the hope that the Pictorial Representations of Jātakas in Burma will have equal importance in deciding similar questions in Burma.

We congratulate M. Duroiselle who has made a splendid beginning in his monograph on the subject. The author is of opinion that "the art of making these reliefs was brought over from the Talaing country together with Talaing captives," and has found no evidence whatsoever to show that it was known at Pagan before 1057 A. D. the year of the Talaing conquest. In our present state of knowledge we cannot but adopt this view. But through whatever channel the art has transpired into Burma, it finds its prototype at Sanchi and Bharahut. The difference in the materials used is not relevant to the present discussion. It is significant that M. Duroiselle has not at all referred to the Indian prototype. We would also point out that the sentence on page 88 "it is well-known that the collection of tales commonly designated the Jātakas was compiled in Pali and put into its present form in Ceylon, during the 5th century A. D. by the Buddhaghosa school" is somewhat misleading and would very probably convey to the reader the impression that these stories originated in Ceylon in the 5th century A. D. with the Buddhaghosa School; whereas they originated in India even before the Buddhist period and were compiled in Pali during the 3rd century B. C.; and it is doubtful whether Buddhaghosa had anything to do with their present form.

We learn that the development of the Art in Burma proper extends over a period of nearly eight centuries from the Eastern Petleik (Pagan), the earliest example (11th century A. D.) to the Pathodawgyi at Amarapura 1819—1837). M. Duroiselle names ten pagodas, 7 being at Pagan where these representations may be seen. With the exception of the plaques at Pathodawgyi at Amarapura, which are of white marble, all the others are of baked earth. The legends are written either in Pali current in Pagan or in Pali and Burmese. The technique is simple:—The figures representing types and not individuals, as pointed out by M. Foucher with regard to the Boro-Budur bas-reliefs.

The monograph is made attractive by the reproduction of 59 scenes with a resumé of each story.

—Editor.

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Wedderspoon, W. G., M.A., LL.B.
White, Sir Herbert Thirkell, K.C.I.E., I.C.S. *Life Member.*
Wickham, P. F.
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Wilson, J. C. C.
Winckler, C.
Wollaston, The Hon'ble Mr. C. H.
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